Dropsie College
1931.

With the Compliments of the Author
and of the Dropsie College

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MOSES HAYYIM LUZZATTO

FOUNDER OF MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE

BY

SIMON GINZBURG, PH. D.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

PHILADELPHIA

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

1931

* 21535

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF
THE ROSE ADLER FUND

PRINTED AT
THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY'S PRESS
PHILADELPHIA, PA., U.S.A.

PREFACE

SOME time ago the author had a wonderful experience. He was busying himself with the preparation of a small volume in Hebrew on the life and works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, that genius who aspired to become the Messiah of his people, but failing in his fantastic hope, became instead, without himself suspecting it, the founder of the Kingdom of modern Hebrew literature. While dealing with this illustrious and illuminating subject, the author happened to express to a friend his deep sorrow at being unable to locate the unpublished drama of Luzzatto, *Samson and Delilah*, of which only a few beautiful lines are in our possession. This much-esteemed friend, one of the professors of the Jewish Theological Seminary, himself a great admirer of Luzzatto, communicated to the writer the amazing fact of the existence of a bundle of letters by Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, never published, buried for a little less than 200 years in some private collection and now in the possession of the Seminary library. Letters of Luzzatto! The author was at once introduced to the librarian, that lovable scholar, Professor Alexander Marx, as well as to the treasure itself. This treasure proved to be a voluminous bag containing more than 130 historical documents, letters by Luzzatto and his contemporaries, both his accusers and defenders, centering upon him and his enigmatic personality. It was certainly a most pleasurable experience, the perusing of the small-sized, almost yellow, 200 year-old pages written by the hand of Luzzato and revealing some of the most intimate corners of his soul.

Soon other good news came. With the kind assistance of Professor Marx, the author was fortunate enough to locate the unpublished manuscripts of Luzzatto's rhetoric *Leshon Limmudim*, part II, to which was appended the complete drama *Maaseh Shimshon*. The discovery—of the letters and the location of the treatise—necessitated an important change in the plan of the book on Luzzatto: much of the material and biographical data gathered from various sources had to be reexamined in the light of the newly found letters. On the other hand, instead of publishing only a biography of Luzzatto in Hebrew, it seems imperative now to have these manuscripts finally given to the world. The writer came to the conclusion that he would have to broaden the scope of his work, not only as biographer of Luzzatto but also, possibly, as editor of the letters and treatise.

These alterations in the plan of the work were submitted by the writer to his esteemed teacher, Professor Henry Malter of the Dropsie College, who, while approving of the general plan, urged him nevertheless not to postpone the publication of the work until all data and manuscripts were collected and studied, but to write, for the time being, a sort of a *Kizzur* containing in English the gist of the greater Hebrew work.* So it was decided that the English sketch of Luzzatto's life and works, should contain some new facts relating to his life, a short appreciation of his cabbalistic and rabbinic writings, and a more extended appreciation of his dramatic and lyric poems. This was to be followed by a discussion of his place and rank in Hebrew literature, designed to prove the thesis "Moses Hayyim Luzzatto—founder of Modern Hebrew Literature," and of his style, vivid and direct and fully modern, as illustrated by his poetry and particularly by his letters written in such

* Prof. Malter also made a number of very helpful textual suggestions which were all incorporated in this work.

masterly prose. Finally a selection of some most important letters is given, so that the letters serve as an appendix to the sketch or the sketch serves as an introduction to the documents.

I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Doctor Cyrus Adler for his very kind and painstaking interest in aiding me to see this English version of Luzzatto's Life through the press. Without his continuous advice and encouragement the plan, as mapped out, would not have been realized.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41547306_0036

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface iii

INTRODUCTION

The pre-Luzzatto Period 1

PART I

Life of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto

Chapter

I. Childhood and Youth of Luzzatto 13

II. Beginning of The Luzzatto Persecution 37

III. The Crisis. Last Years of Luzzatto 56

PART II

Works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto

IV. Cabbalistic and Rabbinic-Philosophical Works 77

V. Dramas and Lyrical Poems 96

VI. Meter and Style 118

Bibliography 127

Appendix: Selected Hebrew Documents 163

Index 185

INTRODUCTION

The pre-Luzzatto Period

The word of the Lord to Jeremiah: "Before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee," may be equally applied to any great man. Without in any way trying to solve the old problem, whether heroes are epoch-makers or epochs are hero-makers, it may suffice to say that, in the case of the many-sided Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, he was more than any other heroic figure, than any other tragic figure, both made and unmade by historical forces antecedent to his birth, beyond his control. It was a peculiar period that preceded his coming into the world, and to the study of this period, the historical environment in which the future hero found himself, the following pages will be devoted.*

Luzzatto's most characteristic trait of being a dual nature, in whom the Middle Ages and the modern spirit met, was conditioned by, and due to, the peculiar character of the times. In the first years of the 18th century when the life of Moses Hayyim begins, the Middle Ages, officially declared by all historians dead and buried, were neither dead nor buried, especially for the Jews. It was a transition period, says Zunz, when the Lutheran and Copernican doctrines were too weak as yet to bring immediate relief to the persecuted. This fact is clearly enough illustrated by the 343,000 victims of the Holy Inquisition between 1481 and 1808; by the cruel treatment of the American Indians, Peruvians, Mexicans, the Bartholomean Night in the 16th Century, and particularly by the status of the Jews during

* General Note. In order not to burden the book with too many foot-notes, it was found best to leave in the text itself as few as possible, all references in detail being given in the Bibliography.

the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries up to the era of the so-called Emancipation. This specific status of the Jews was signalized by the well-known *Judenrecht*, the *condottas* and "first snow" taxes, the "yellow badge" on their clothes, and the constant fear of massacres by the riff-raff of the Christian population, the imperative need to overlook minor insults from their Christian competitors in the few walks of life the Jews were allowed to tread, and the always-present feeling that you have to pay some one (the Pope, the Emperor, the King, the Bishop, the minor officials, the representatives of the cities) for your right to live, to breathe the air and to enjoy the sunshine. It was really one continuous chain of persecution, sometimes cruel, sometimes petty, like water sometimes falling faster sometimes weakening but always persisting in a long-drawn gloomy day of rain. And this condition continued even during the two centuries intervening between Luther and Lessing, almost all over Europe, in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Bohemia, Poland and Turkey—Holland was the only land of liberty in those times.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the humiliations Jewry had to undergo both in spirit and body during these years and even on the threshold of the 18th century, the century of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. It may perhaps suffice to record here a few instances of the way the Jews were treated in the land of Luzzatto's birth, the land of the classical Renaissance—in noble Italy. The Jews of Padua, where Moses Hayyim was born, were legally enclosed within the Ghetto-walls in 1602; this Ghetto had four gates, with insulting inscriptions upon them, and the Jews had to live within this inclosure until 1797, when the French army triumphantly entered the city. It was in this ghetto that Moses Hayyim Luzzatto spent the best part of his young life. In 1689 massacres broke out against

the Jews of Padua, caused by the petty jealousy of the Christian merchants with whom the Jews were successfully competing, and by their insidious propaganda, which had at bottom economic reasons, though as usual waving the patriotic flag in war-time and claiming "the Jews were sympathizing with the nation's enemies." The better part of the Christian population came armed to the rescue of the Jews, but for six days the latter were afraid to leave the ghetto-walls. Those terrible days are graphically described by Luzzatto's teacher, Isaac Hayyim Cohen Cantarini, an eye-witness, and their impression no doubt was too fresh in the minds of the older generation not to have struck some deep chord in the young heart of Moses Hayyim. In 1700 the Jewish Community of Padua paid 900 ducats for taxes and *condotta*, something like the recent *pravozhitelstvo* in Russia. While their civic and commercial rights were much curtailed, for example the Jews were forbidden to buy real estate and forced to pay their Christian landlords exorbitant rent for miserable unsanitary housing, the government demanded from them large sums of money in the form of loans. Thus in 1704 the Paduan Community paid the amount of 20,000 ducats, including also the "first snow" tax! As late as 1713, when the child Moses Hayyim was growing into boyhood, we find it recorded that the rich brothers Cantarini were not permitted by the government to open a silk-spinning mill in Padua. The pressure from outside contributed to a great extent to the strengthening of the feeling of solidarity among the oppressed, and it was this pressure from outside that was chiefly responsible for the united front the Rabbis of Israel in most of the European countries presented against Luzzatto's cabbalistic-messianic heresy, as will be seen later.

However important such solidarity may have been for the scattered Jewish people, fighting for its very existence, as

well as for the existence of the moral law in the world, nevertheless, negative results had to come forth out of negative causes. The gloom of the Middle Ages necessarily affected the atmosphere within the ghetto. The joy of life, and love, and beauty of the Spanish-Arabic period in Hebrew literature passed, not to return for more than four centuries. And when the sounds of those early swallows —Boccacio and Petrarch—were awakening the world and announcing the dawn of the Renaissance, the sad "tents of Jacob" did not resound with the joy of awakening to new life for a long time to come. Many of the Rabbis forbade the reading of Emanuel the Roman's sensuous light-minded Hebrew poetry, in which an echo was still to be heard of the golden Spanish era. There was no room for light, and merriment, and laughter in Jewish life: there was grim war outside, war of a whole world against the House of Jacob—and every member of this house had to be drafted and sent into battle, a soldier of the Lord. Now, soldiers require discipline, the suppression of individuality, the emphasis of their like-mindedness. That was exactly what happened in the slow process of the nation's soul working out its destiny under most unfavorable conditions. The nation, with two golden eras of Prophecy and Poetry behind it, felt instinctively the supreme importance of the Talmud, and talmudic law, as the national armour against the destruction threatening it from without. This feeling culminated in the universal adoption of the *Shulhan Aruk*, a code regulating every phase of Jewish life imaginable, and containing the quintessence of talmudic law with all the additional strata of the succeeding ages. So that at the end of the 16th century the *Shulhan Aruk* reigned supreme over the Jewish communities of the Diaspora. There was no poetry, no secular literature, no drama; there was religion in terms of law—occasionally law in rimes. This

strict adherence to formalism was a sort of ice-armour, under which the water of the river nevertheless moves and works its will, in the winter. It was terrible winter outside at the end of the 16th century, the results of which are still to be felt in Jewish life at the beginning of the *Haskalah* period in the 19th century. No wonder, so many tender flowers of genius and individuality, among them Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, died at the bank of the river without developing fully in such biting frosts.

One outlet there was from this powerful influence of the law-book; one shelter from external persecution and humiliation; one refuge from the prose of Jewish life: the province of mysticism, of Cabbalah. And it is in the estimate of the positive or negative value of the Cabbalah and what it contributed to Jewish life that the present author ventures to differ with most of the writers on the period. Because, educated in the spirit of the *Haskalah*, they take a too rationalistic view of the Cabbalah as a whole. They analyze its substance, divide it into Cabbalah Theoretical and Cabbalah Practical, praise the former and criticize the latter as being too absurd, as if in a system of thought, as in art, there ought to be necessarily some absolute intrinsic value, apart from its social usefulness. Many philosophical theories, now dismissed as childish, are nevertheless considered important in their historical setting, provided they have contributed their share toward human advancement. Is there any doubt that the Cabbalah was a great spiritual force in Jewish life, and therefore in the life of humanity as a whole? The strongest point in this argument is the fact that it was in the cabbalistic literature that the messianic ideals of our people were most anxiously cherished and preserved. And if the messianic idea was and still is perhaps the surest guide of Israel during all these centuries, changing its outlook gradually from metaphysical to realistic and

from "Pseudo-Messiah" movements to practical Zionism,—let us remember this: it was the Cabbalah which erred in many particulars, but not in the most essential. And if Moses Nahmanides, with whom theoretical Cabbalah in Hebrew really starts, and Isaac Luria, from whom practical Cabbalah takes its origin, are revered by many, despite their erratic philosophy, it is because their instinct prompted them to go to Palestine and dream there, in their cabbalistic way, the majestic dream of the deliverance of their people. That is why they are so pathetic, those solitary figures emerging from the dark, illuminating the difficult road back to Zion . . . So is Luzzatto.

What does this system of Cabbalah contain? More will be told about it in the chapter on the cabbalistic works of Luzzatto, faithful disciple of Isaac Luria and his predecessors. Here we wish to follow up its development not dogmatically, but historically. And followed up historically, we find that since the 12th century, when cold winds begin to blow in the Jewish and general world, Cabbalah becomes the rival of Law in Jewish life. Its influence is ordinarily less seen, less felt, but because of this fact it is much deeper, and it has a stronger hold upon its followers. Only from time to time, when there is a crisis in the life of the nation, there comes a sudden outbreak, as a protest against the prose of life and the incessant external persecution, of which the national soul becomes impatient. Such revolutionary outbreaks were the various pseudo-messianic movements in Jewish History, those movements that were also caricatured by many rationalists, but their impact still working now helps to effect the rebuilding of Palestine. So that if the *Shulhan Aruk* was the *static* force in Jewish life, Cabbalah was its *dynamic* force; in most cases both worked peacefully, quietly side by side; in exceptional cases armed and arraigned against each other.

Now it so happened that in the seventeenth century, it was the Cabbalah which had the upper hand for a while, as a protest against the domination of the *Shulhan Aruk* in the sixteenth century.[1] The pseudo-messiah, Sabbatai Zevi, came at a crisis in Jewish history, after the terrible Ukrainian massacres by the Cossacks of Bogdan Chmielnicki in 1648. The pathless nation revolted against its own helplessness. There was no way out but the visionary. Political Zionism was not possible in those days. The only alternative was to despair, to give up, to die a death of shame through assimilation en masse. The nation instinctively chose the fantastic way of mass-emigration to the Holy Land, with all the realities against them. And Sabbatai Zevi, the daring visionary, was recognized as the leader, notwithstanding the timid opposition of many of the Rabbis, and hailed as the Saviour of Israel, as the King-Messiah by the Jewish masses. There were great waves of enthusiasm, on the crest of which Sabbatai Zevi was carried into the palace of the sovereign of Turkey to whom Palestine belonged. What was inevitable, happened. Subjected to the acid test of practical leadership, his courage failed him, and to save his life, the Pseudo-Messiah became converted to Mohammedanism. It was a tragic moment, one of the most tragic moments in Jewish history; a genuinely democratic movement toward a better and fairer life failed, the great wave was broken, leaving some prophetic melodious sound, perhaps of the greatest import for the future, the far distant future. Meanwhile a great hope was extinguished, a great light had failed, and the soul of the nation was choking. In the semi-darkness that came upon Jewish life, there were still a few who endeavored to

[1] See Gotthard Deutsch, *Philosophy of Jewish History*, Cincinnati, 1897, p. 61ff. There are a number of sound points in this Philosophy, which is, however, extremely rationalistic as a whole.

save some remnants of faith in Sabbatai Zevi, and a few of his disciples, like Nehemiah Hayyun, tried to establish among the rest of his followers the principle of the Pseudo-Messiah's infallibility, and to explain his practical failure as a mystical success.

It was the attempts of these sectarians that offered both an excuse and an occasion to the Rabbis in the various rabbinical colleges, representing static Jewish Law, to attack the eternal dynamic force, the Cabbalah.[2] Sweet was the revenge, after those stormy days of the height of the Sabbatai Zevi movement, when rabbinic authority was set aside, and the Rabbis, at the dictation of the masses, had to bow to the will of the Cabbalists, the ardent followers of the Pseudo-Messiah. The Popes used as their most powerful weapon—excommunication; the Jewish Rabbis—the *herem*, which amounts practically to the same thing. But the Rabbis still wield their weapon—with deadly effect in most cases, except perhaps in that of Spinoza—as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, at a time when the Pope's ban lost most of its stinging power. This exceptional endurance of the rabbinic authority over Jewish life finds its explanation in the fact already mentioned, that the era of the Renaissance started in the Jewish ghetto, by force of external circumstances, much later than everywhere else: the Jewish Renaissance practically starts with the coming of Mendelssohn,[3] whose forerunner—as well as the forerunner of the *Besht*—Moses Hayyim Luzzatto may, to a great extent, be considered.

There were already some signs of the approaching dawn in the ghetto: Acosta and Spinoza did not live in vain, and among the younger generation, there developed little by

[2] As exemplified in the rabbinical battles against Nehemiah Hayyun, M. H. Luzzatto, Rabbi Jonathan Eybeshütz, etc.

[3] Who is not to be held responsible for the assimilationist theories of his disciples.

little a thirst for secular knowledge. Thus we find 149 Jewish students entering the medical college of the Paduan University during the years 1619–1721, among them a few coming even from Poland and Lithuania. The greatest admirer of Luzzatto, whose well-meant but untimely and exaggerated praise was chiefly responsible for the misfortunes that befell his master, was a Lithuanian student, Jekutiel Gordon from the city of Vilna. These circles of students, brought up on the more or less modern literature of Europe —especially French and Italian—could no longer be satisfied with the legalistic literature augmented from year to year, mostly full of fruitless scholastic discussions. Neither could the rabbinic style of that period appeal to a Hebrew reader with taste: it was not a style, but, with few notable exceptions,[4] a mixture of various biblical and talmudic, Hebraic and Aramaic elements with no mind for grammar, with no feeling for rhythm. As to style, both the cabbalistic and the legalistic branches of Hebrew literature seemed to be in perfect accord; both lacked harmony.

The Rabbis of the 16th and 17th centuries made of the beautiful Hebrew language, the medium of Gabirol and Halevi, exactly what the mediaeval scholastics made of Latin, the medium of Virgil and Horace. There was a crying need for someone to come and bridge in Jewish life the gulf between the old spirit and the new, and to return Hebrew Literature to its classic style. Spinoza could not accomplish this; he was too international in spirit to become a national figure. Only a man imbued with the religious spirit of the Jewish past, but at the same time cherishing within his bosom a Samsonian protest against the legalistic fanatics, a man of high poetic talent and Herculean power, could remove Hebrew style from its dead point of

[4] As, for instance, the mishnaic, matter-of-fact style of the *Shulhan Aruk* itself.

stagnation and make it flow again rhythmically and beautifully,—only such a man could perform such a miracle.

And the man to stand between the shadow of the middle ages and the light of the modern era was born at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was learned in the Talmud, perhaps more versed in Cabbalah than any of his contemporaries, knowing French and Italian poetry and the humanities in general, and besides a man of rare original poetical genius, with a wonderful musical style almost rivaling Halevi's.

This man was Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.

PART I

LIFE OF MOSES HAYYIM LUZZATTO

CHAPTER I

Childhood and Youth of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto

The German Jew, who emigrated early in the sixteenth century into Italy, according to a Luzzatto family tradition,[5] and who was called by the name of his birth-place, the province of Lausitz, Lausiatus = Luzzatto,—little thought he of the great dynasty of thinkers, poets and writers, he was to found.

It was a wonderful combination of the two geographical elements, the German and the Italian, that entered as factors in the spiritual makeup of this famous Luzzatto family. The German tradition was never lost sight of in the country of their adoption. Thus the *nussah ashkenas*, the German version of the Jewish prayer-book, was closely followed in the synagogue of the Luzzatto family at Venice. And Jacob son of Isaac Luzzatto (died c. 1587) indicates his German origin by his Hebrew pronunciation, which is that of the German Jews (as is to be seen from his rimed preface to the *Taame Hamizvot* by Menahem Recanati, Basle, 1581). A minor branch of the family is to be found in Safed, Palestine, during the sixteenth century, but the majority of the Luzzattos settled early in that century, in Venice, then in Padua, and other cities of Italy where the family flourished, and does not even now show signs of decay. The eminent scholar, statesman and parliamentary leader in Italy of our days, Luigi Luzzatti, is a representative of another branch of the family, which was called by the name of the land of its origin, "Lausiati" in the plural.

Perhaps it is to these geographical factors that the two

[5] Cited by S. D. Luzzatto. See Bibliography.

chief characteristics of almost all the more prominent members of this family are to be ascribed: their soberness of mind, that logical soberness which distinguishes the German outlook from time immemorial and which is mother of system and love for system, and their fervent imagination, which is both Italian and Oriental. These qualities distinguish not only the trio, the three most brilliant Luzzattos of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the cabbalist Moses Hayyim, the poet Ephraim, and the scholar-philosopher Samuel David. Jacob son of Isaac Luzzatto was author of two books, in which he tried to explain the Aggadot as having an allegorical meaning, citing Talmud, Midrashim and cabbalistic works. And Simone Luzzatto (1580–1663), who was rabbi in Venice, tried in his Italian treatise *Socrate* to combine Reason with Revelation, being both thinker and believer. So is the whole family of Luzzatto as a rule, both rationalistic and religious.

Then there were the special Jewish characteristics that distinguished the Luzzattos, among them the parents of Moses Hayyim: the reserve of energy brought to Italy, not dissipated by excesses, which enabled them to compete successfully with the Christian merchants in a gentile world; the Jewish piety and modesty and sense for moral beauty, as well as the Jewish ideal of learning and love for scholarship. This love for Jewish scholarship was particularly strong in the Paduan community, one of the greatest and most ancient of Italian communities which existed as early as 1300. Its famous talmudic school founded by Rabbi Judah Mintz attracted students from all over the world for more than two centuries,[6] and to this place the Luzzattos came to live.

[6] Rabbi Meyer Katzenellenbogen (הר״מ מפאדובה), one of the leading Rabbis in the 16th century, a member of the Mintz dynasty, was head of the school.

It was in such an environment and atmosphere that a child was born in Padua, in 1707, to his parents, Jacob Vita and Diamante Luzzatto, a child named Moses Hayyim, who was later to shake the Jewish world by his daring fancy, and finally, to become the founder of modern Hebrew literature by grace of his natural poetic genius.

As soon as he opened his eyes, the smile of the deep blue Italian sky greeted him, somewhat saddened by the gloom of the Jewish ghetto in Padua. The child's soul must have been affected very early by the uniformity of line peculiar to Padua. Says Cesare Faligno in his *Story of Padua:* "The city preserves a stronger Gothic tradition than most towns of North Italy. Houses and palaces in Padua were architecturally limited by the fixed boundaries of the continuous arcades, linking one house to another, and this uniformity bestows on the narrow streets of the city a peculiar character." Such uniformity of line may have had its influence on the future author of books in rhetoric, ethics and Cabbalah, which strike us sometimes as possessing the same quality.

There is more to be said about the character of the city. Volkmann, a great admirer of Padua, finds it repellant rather than attractive at first sight because of its narrow streets, its sober appearance and its flat surroundings; but these deficiencies are expiated by many works of art, which are found in abundance in the city of Petrarch and Giotto. It is about the Paduan City Hall, the Salone, that Goethe wrote: "Es ist ein abgeschlossenes Unendliches."

The same artist-lover of Padua, Volkmann, was struck by the double impression the city produces: to one coming from the North, it appears like an Italian city; but to one coming from Rome or Naples,—more German than anything else . . . Even more: to one walking in the moonlight in the south-eastern surroundings of the city, and

gazing at the magnificent mosque-like domes of the St. Giustina and St. Antonio, Padua appears in a splendour entirely oriental. Surely all this beauty with its peculiarities and limitations did not fail to reflect itself in the rich soul of the little boy, Moses Hayyim.

Padua had one more thing to be proud of: its University, founded in 1222, was one of the oldest in Europe. Its students enjoyed the greatest intellectual freedom possible,[7] and their relations with the Jews were of a hearty nature. Says Cesare Faligno: "Owing to the frequent financial difficulties of the students, Jews collected around them, and in spite of much prejudice, proved often more liberal in their terms than Christian money lenders or than the rich and niggardly trade guilds. On their side, the students, showed their gratitude by constituting themselves the champions of Free Thought against religious or racial prejudices."

This University spirit of broad-mindedness served to liberalize to some extent the Paduan ghetto as well. At the time Moses Hayyim was growing out of his early childhood, there were many Jewish students going into the medical profession, the only one open to them. And while Italian Jewry was strictly religious, there was nevertheless, it seems, perfect harmony in the intellectual circles between the religious, even the mystic, and the secular spirit. The conflicts between the two, like those registered in the history of the *Haskalah* period in Galicia and in Russia, were not to be imagined in Italy, which seemed to have inherited to some extent the secular culture of the Spanish Arabic period.[8] These circumstances explain the liberal

[7] As Venice, under whose sway Padua came politically in 1405, was extremely tolerant with regard to this ancient institution of learning.

[8] This is particularly true with regard to Padua, where many Jews immigrated from Spain and Portugal.

curriculum that was covered in the course of young Moses Hayyim's education.

How deeply he was imbued with the spirit of Italian culture, literature, poetry, will be shown later when we touch upon his imitating in one of his dramas, his *Migdal Oz*, the example of the Italian poet Guarini in his famous dramatic poem *Pastor Fido*. Luzzatto seems to have known Guarini by heart. On the other hand writings like his *Leshon Limmudim*, where he shows himself to be a first class rhetorician, and his *Sefer ha-Higayon*, which is an excellent manual of logic in Hebrew, make us feel that their author was well acquainted with the humanities. These secular subjects, as well as Hebrew poetics, seem to have been imparted to him by his teacher Isaac Hayyim Cohen Cantarini. This man, as is to be seen from his letters to Pastor Theophile Unger, published by S. D. Luzzatto,[9] seems to have been not only a physician, but an all-round scholar, and his book *Pahad Yizhak* (פחד יצחק) shows him to be a brilliant rhetorician, although very little of a true poet. However, he was skillful in using metaphors, and particularly assonances; and this skill he succeeded in communicating to his young pupil, who used it but seldom though with the greatest force and effect, as a genius should.

In one of his letters to Pastor Unger, Cantarini expresses in enthusiastic terms his love for Jedayah ha-Penini, the author of the lyrical-philosophical *Behinat Olam*,[10] who seems to have been his model as to style and diction. Ha-Penini was one of the last of a great era, living as he did at its sunset. Thus the connecting link between Moses Hayyim Luzzatto and the great heritage of the Arabic-

[9] See *Ozar Nechmad*, III, 1860.

[10] One citation: ומה אענה ומה אוסיף אחרי ראותך ספר בחינת עולם, הנה מה טוב הוא ומה נעים . . . *Ozar Nechmad*, 1860, v. III, p. 146.

Spanish era is found. Because undoubtedly Cantarini acquainted his gifted pupil with all the great poetry of that age, in which Gabirol, Judah Halevi, and the Ibn-Ezras, Moses and Abraham, are the shining stars. A testimonial to the high esteem and love of the pupil for his teacher is to be found in Luzzatto's *Dirge on the Death of Cantarini*, in which he pays glowing tribute to the wisdom of the departed master.[11]

But if his teacher, Cantarini, laid the foundation of Luzzatto's secular and poetical education, a far greater influence was exerted upon the boy's whole outlook on life by his religious teacher, Rabbi Isaiah Bassan, to whom Moses Hayyim writes in one of his letters: "you have given me true life," and whose name was later inseparably connected with that of Luzzatto during the latter's troubles, thus remaining, thanks to him, immortal.

Bassan was at that time Rabbi in Padua, but his fame as a great Talmudist and author of a few halakic treatises spread beyond Italy. Proof of this is the fact that Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz, who later became the bitterest opponent of Luzzatto, in his reply to Luzzatto from Altona-Hamburg, advises him to follow in the footsteps of his teacher, Bassan, whom he knows to be a great scholar and a man of piety. It must have been an exceptional privilege for Luzzatto to be given instruction in the sacred subjects by a man of such standing: no doubt this privilege was at first extended to young Moses Hayyim, not so much because of his own merit, as on account of his father, a rich merchant, one of the most prominent members of the Paduan community. But later on, with the development of events, the formal relationship changed into "eternal love" between the master and his pupil, as Bassan puts it himself in his letter concerning Luzzatto to the Rabbis of Venice.

[11] This dirge will be treated in detail in a later chapter.

The newly discovered correspondence between the two, Bassan and Luzzatto, brings into special relief the peculiar bond of friendship and affection, at first gay and hopeful, then stormy and tragic, which animates them. And thus typifying the eternal idea of master and pupil, they go down, associated forever, into history.[12]

One most valuable document giving us some insight into the little world of young Moses Hayyim, we have in the letter above mentioned, written by Bassan to the Venetian Rabbis in defense of Luzzatto. Says the master:[13] "As to the man of valour against whom all this noise is directed, I will say just a few lines, not too many. Because I am like himself, as I was to him like a father. But the truth should be stated, that while a young child, he came to love the Torah with an affectionate love, and when he grew into boyhood, he made for himself a golden coat of modesty, without following things of vanity and the impulses of his heart, the foolish impulses of childhood and boyhood. God

[12] Luzzatto's biographer, Abraham Kahan, counts among the master spirits that influenced him, Rabbi Benjamin Cohen Vitali, father-in-law of Bassan, the cabbalist who resided in Reggio and who was a pupil of the famous R. Moses Zakuta. Among Luzzatto's letters there are a few written to Rabbi Benjamin Cohen, but nothing in the tenor of the letters indicates a direct and constant relationship. The fact that Luzzatto knows nothing of Zakuta's drama, *Yesod Olam*, (If he knew of it, we might be able to trace his knowledge of it in his own drama) tends to prove the opposite.

[13] The Hebrew text is as follows: מעט מזער לא כביר, מלין אחביר, על תאר אדם המעלה אשר עליו רגשת קול ההמולה, יען וביען הן אני כפיהו, כי כהיום אני ילדתיהו, ברם קושטא קאי, הא לאיי, כי גמול מחלב עתיק משדים, רבץ בין המשפתים, ובתורת ה' דבק לאהבה, ויקרא שמה חפצי בה, ועשה לו קטונת פוזים, בחור כארזים, לא הלך אחרי שוא ובשרירות, והבלי הילדות והשחרות, ה' אלקים פתח לו אזן שומעת ותבן, ויהי לי לבן, ואנכי הרגלתיהו, על זרועותי לקחתיהו, וכפי כחי רוח חכמה מלאתיהו, ויען אהבת עולם אהבתיהו, לא הייתי גדול בביתי ממנו, מספר צעדי אנידנו, וכל טובי היה בידו, כי אין נסתר מהמדו, ובהיותו מאיר ובא בבקר בבקר קל כאחד הצביים, עסקן בדברי אלקים חיים, כי משש את כל כלי, מצא מעט הכתיבות אשר חנן ה' אלי, והוא עבר את מיכל, ויקח גם מע"ץ החיי"ם ויאכל, אז רעיוניו פשטו בעמק הסודים, התעלם באהביהם רוח דודים . . . etc. No. 25 in *M. H. Luzzatto's Letters*, edited by the present writer, to be published by the Dvir Publishing House, Tel-Aviv, Palestine.

gave him sense to listen and to understand, and he was to me like a son. I trained him, I took him into my arms, I taught him as much as I knew, and as I loved him with a love eternal, he was on an equal footing with me in my house. I told him every step I made, and all my spiritual possessions were at his disposal, because nothing was hidden from his spirit thirsting after knowledge. And as he used to come to my house every morning, very early, swift and light as a deer, to learn the words of the living God, he searched all through my library, found there some of my writings which God granted me, then he crossed even the stream of Cabbalah, and also tasted of the Tree of Life (a Cabbalistic book under this title, by Hayyim Vital). Then his mind began to wander in the valley of mysticism, he began to love it and to enjoy it . . . ." This remarkable paragraph offers us a graphic description of both Luzzatto's childhood and boyhood; volumes of records and biographic data could not be as eloquent as the few lines, ending with this most significant phrase: "Then his mind began to wander in the valley of mysticism."

This was the beginning of the Cabbalah fever, which encircled his mind with a golden flame. In this seemingly golden flame, he created for himself a fantastic dreamland, a literal kingdom of Heaven, with a personal God, with hosts of angels, all of whom were obedient to the great King-Messiah, and, he, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, himself was to be that King-Messiah. Heavenly voices called from afar. It was the awakening of the poet in the boy, the awakening of great forces in the future founder of modern Hebrew literature. Moses Hayyim heard the call and followed it. But on his way to the realization of his poetic genius, he found the gates of mysticism open before him, bearing the inscription, "Gates of Heaven" and they lured him time and again away from the straight path. We are

already on the threshold of coming tragedy, Fate has already begun its strange work, its destructive work which will undo him.

Undo him—only in one particular sense: in having prevented him from complete self-realization in the field of poetry, from creating still greater literary values, as he no doubt could have, thus ensuring forever his rightful claim to the title of "Father of Modern Hebrew Literature." Otherwise, it must be emphasised here again, that even if Luzzatto's whole life had been spent on Cabbalah, it would not have been spent in vain from the point of view of social value. The case of Luzzatto which is so fascinating even for the modern rationalistic reader, contained electricity enough to awaken an ancient people once more from its stagnation; it was therefore useful, and in this lies its historical justification. There is no use in trying to impose our will upon the past or to ridicule it for not having followed our wishes. In studying the past, we must remember Spinoza's dictum: Let us not laugh nor weep, but try to understand sympathetically.

The storm of the Sabbatai Zevi movement had just passed, the waves quieted down, thanks partly to the rabbinical oil poured on stormy waters, but there were still some very dangerous ripples left. The more sensitive and more imaginative part of the intellectual class in Jewry became impatient, incurably impatient of this long dark night hanging over their race. And this in itself was a sign of rejuvenation.

This impatience is palpably felt in one of Rabbi Benjamin Cohen's letters to Luzzatto. It is manifested also by the fact that a number of essentially mystic study-circles, their program including also prayer and meditation, spring up

under various names,[14] like wildfire in Hebron, Palestine, Ferrara, Padua and other cities. They were formed under the direct influence of Cabbalism. It was a pupil of the famous cabbalist Moses Zakuta (Jacob Daniel Olmo), who organized the study-circle *Hadashim Labeḳarim* in the city of Ferrara for the purpose of studying all night parts of halakah and ethics, and of praying after midnight for the rebuilding of the gates of Zion.[15] It is young Moses Hayyim (much more than his master Bassan who was, as has been stated before, a great talmudist, but little of a cabbalist) who became the leader of such a group in Padua, whose chief purpose was to "save all Israel." How? chiefly through the study of the Holy Zohar, the classical book containing the quintessence of Cabbalah. These circles were perhaps the forerunners of the *hassidim-kleislach* and *mussar-stüblach* and secret organizations like the more modern *Bne Moshe* organized by Ahad-Haam, which passed on to this generation the protest against the old forms of life, the yearning for the *Geulah.*

Will anyone deny to the secret Garibaldi clubs their rightful place in the history of new Italy? These study-circles, we dare say, were fulfilling the same function in Jewish history, without perhaps being conscious of it themselves.

It is perhaps this rejuvenation in Jewish life, this reserve of exuberant young energy, seeking to express itself, which was responsible for the beginning of Hebrew drama in that

[14] מבקשי ה', מיטיבי צעד—in Padua; חדשים לבקרים—in Hebron and Ferrara.

[15] . . . וקבלו עליהם להשכים קום לומר תיקון שערי ציון וללמוד דברי הלכה או מוסר See article, "חיי הרב יעקב דניאל אולמו" in "המגיד", 1872, No. 49. 42 members joined this circle. It may be of interest, that at the time there were two שליחים of the holy city of Hebron (R. David Melamed and Israel Cohen) who encouraged them and suggested the name חדשים לבקרים, the name of the Hebron circle, as well. Note the interdependence of Palestine and the Diaspora.

period. Because drama is at all periods the expression of accumulated national energy, as the history of Greek, Spanish and English drama conclusively proves. Such was the case also in Hebrew literature. The two ancient dramatic poems—the Song of Songs and Job—were written in the period of the youth of the Jewish people; and since that time, for various reasons to be discussed in a later chapter, nothing of any value whatever has been created in the field of Hebrew drama. It is only in the middle of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, at a time when daring new ideas began to occupy the still half-mediaeval Jewish mind, and force a change of centre from the world to come to the world of realities, that dramas began to be written even in Hebrew. And by whom? Mostly by cabbalists. This is a remarkable fact. The first drama in the modern period[16] was written by the cabbalist, Moses Zakuta c. 1630–1640. And the two dramatic masterpieces, which ushered in the new era in Hebrew Literature, were creations of the cabbalist, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. Thus we have a sidelight illustrating the statement that Cabbalah was the dynamic force in Jewish life.

Whatever generalizations we may make on the subject, it is interesting to note in the case of Luzzatto, how naturally and in what perfect harmony mysticism and poetry claim his attention almost simultaneously in the first period of his life. While busying himself with his mystic study-circle, he tries his hand at poetry and succeeds at the very start in striking musical chords neither heard, nor dreamt of, since Judah Halevi's lyre dropped from his hands. It was the wedding of a son of Bassan's and a dear friend of Luzzatto's that was the occasion for the writing of that famous drama *Migdal Oz*, so deservedly praised by Delitzsch, by whom it was published more than a century later. A

[16] *Yesod Olam*, יסוד עולם, whose heroes are תרח, אברהם, נחור etc.

detailed analysis of this drama will be found in another chapter. Here it may suffice to say that though strongly under the influence of the Italian poet Guarini, as was natural for the youthful author, Luzzatto exhibits fine insight into, and sympathy for, human nature. He shows that he has an eye for nature and for beauty. And he has a style of his own, distinguished by its melodious flow. Notwithstanding its many faults, among them its rationalistic tendency to show virtue rewarded and wickedness punished, the drama *Migdal Oz* is essentially a song of youth and love and beauty, and that is why with it modern Hebrew literature really opens. It is the modern spirit speaking for the first time in Hebrew.

The drama *Migdal Oz*, was the culmination of Luzzatto's many remarkable activities in his youth. This delicate spirit succeeded in writing during a few years, (he began when about sixteen years old), a bewildering mass of pages, thousands of them, on various topics in the three fields of Rabbinics (rhetoric, and ethics included), poetry and Cabbalah. Thus, when seventeen years old, he completed his rhetoric called *Leshon Limmudim*, written in a lucid masterful prose, only the first part of which has been published. In order to illustrate his theoretical rules of poetical composition, a drama, *Maaseh Shimshon* is appended to the last part.[17] Of this drama only a few forceful and melodious lines have been published by Almanzi. When the work is published in full, detailed analysis of it will be possible.[18] Then in the field of poetry comes the above described drama *Migdal Oz*. Next his *One hundred*

[17] It is only recently that the author succeeded, thanks to Prof. Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary, in locating the MSS. of the lost part, as well as of the drama.

[18] The drama, edited by the present writer, has been published by Dvir, Tel-Aviv, in 1927 (משה חיים לוצאטו, מעשה שמשון, הוצאת „דביר", תרפ"ז). The Introduction contains a detailed analysis of the drama.

and fifty Psalms, composed in imitation of David's, the greater part of which was destroyed (in 1735), as the newly-discovered letters indicate beyond a shadow of doubt; only a few having escaped this fate. These show how much inferior Luzzatto's *Psalms* are to his dramas. In his *Migdal Oz*, perhaps because of lack of dramatic masterpieces in Hebrew, his style is forceful, following the footsteps of the Bible, but never exactly biblical. Not so in the *Psalms*. There he imitates the biblical style wonderfully, to such a degree that Luzzatto's personality disappears almost entirely. He imitates in this instance slavishly, and had his *Psalms* survived, they might have helped to introduce at once that pseudo-biblical style which prevailed later in Hebrew literature of the *Haskalah* period. Still, however insignificant both as to content and style, it was this work that was chiefly responsible for the rabbinical opposition aroused against Luzzatto a few years later. According to a rumor circulated by some "well-wisher" of his, the youthful author, proud of his work, boasted that "When Messiah comes, these Psalms are to substitute those of David." And the Rabbis would be justified in fearing such a substitution, as the imitation was really complete.[19] Had Luzzatto's work fallen, in some future age, into the hands of a religious charlatan, the mass of ignorant simple-minded people could have easily been deceived by its perfect likeness. Such was the case also with regard to the *Zohar Tinyana*, (זהר תנינא), an imitation of the Zohar, the cabbalistic book of books, that Luzzatto wrote at the same period in good Aramaic. He was at that time a fountain of energy inexhaustible, almost superhuman.

Moses Hayyim was young, and his imaginative power,

[19] The truth is, however, the Rabbis condemned the book as "deserving to be burned" without taking the trouble to examine its contents.

fed by continuous reading of mystical books, over-balanced for a time all his other faculties. He had at his disposal Rabbi Bassan's library, rich in books on Cabbalah; he peruses all kinds of cabbalistic manuscripts, particularly those by Isaac Luria, who had many admirers in Italy and whose practical Cabbalah influenced Luzzatto to a great extent. Later, the principles of this practical Cabbalah will be discussed more fully; here this much must be stated: The Lurianic theory is based on the belief in the existence of higher worlds, serving as residence-places for higher powers of various categories, and in the interdependence of these higher worlds with the *Olam Hataḥton*, the lower world in which we live. If such an interdependence actually exists, there must be some way to come in touch with the higher worlds, and if possible, to control some of the higher powers, of course for holy purposes only. Thus, it is permissible to trouble the angels in order to expedite national salvation, the *Geulah*. But by what means can these higher powers be controlled? Here the *Logos* comes in, and the influence exerted by neo-platonism on Cabbalah in general. There are mystic words and combinations of words which have a self-sufficient existence and possess magic powers. One word, for instance, pronounced by the right man in the proper time, could open the heavenly gates of Mercy; another could bring down an angel to the cabbalist pronouncing the magic word, provided he was a holy man. The only thing, therefore, for a practical cabbalist to do, besides leading a holy life, is to find out what these words and combinations of words are, and how and under what conditions they are to be operated. These secrets, which Practical Cabbalah claims to have found, must not be divulged to persons not consecrated. They should be studied in Godly fear and trembling of heart in a small circle consisting of persons, who have undergone a rigid

moral and formal discipline. It was precisely these cabbalistic secrets that occupied the mind of young Luzzatto in the long hours of study, prayer and meditation (as his parents were wealthy, he had nothing else to do), until his mind was entirely obsessed by them.

This practical Cabbalah, as a theological system, stands in the same relation to modern theology as does astrology to modern astronomy. There is, no doubt, the mediaeval spirit; but there is also the active principle—active in the right direction. So Luzzatto from his early youth associates his childish cabbalistic dreams with the national sorrow and hope, with the Messianic idea. He is led in the right direction by his instinct, the instinct of a national figure, in whom was concentrated all the light and shadow of the Jewish soul on the threshold of the modern era, the weaknesses of the past and the melodies of the future. That is why it is not to be ridiculed,[20] when in one of his unpublished cabbalistic manuscripts, Luzzatto with his friend Moses David Vali and the rest of their fellow-students discuss the act of the selling of Joseph by his brothers and decide, with the help of the Shekinah, to expiate this sin, as well as all the rest of the sins of the House of Israel since Adam up to their time. This fact, only helps us to realize how much Luzzatto, the dramatist, was impressed and moved by the dramatic element in the biblical story. Almanzi records another instance, illustrating the childish naiveté (which is not exactly simple-mindedness) of Luzzatto in his youth. Among Luzzatto's unpublished cabbalistic manuscripts, there is an Aramaic prayer to God, asking his permission to console his mournful Shekinah (something like the embodiment of God's motherly mercy over Israel); and a Hebrew prayer directed to the Shekinah itself, where

[20] As Almanzi does in his otherwise excellent biography of Luzzatto. See כרם חמד, III, פראג תקצ"ח p. 131.

Luzzatto asks the permission of the heavenly mournful queen to console her in his name and in the name of the prophets Samuel and Ahiah the Shilonite, the angel Asriel to bear this message of consolation. No, this is not a thing to be laughed at; it is rather to be regretted, that such a splendid combination of poetic emotion with mythological material, which Luzzatto, like Milton, could have embodied in a national epic, was turned into fruitless cabbalistic speculation.

Such was the dreamland atmosphere with which young Luzzatto surrounded himself. Cabbalah became the enchanted isle, not only for Moses Hayyim, but for a group of his friends, inexperienced youths like himself. All sons of wealthy parents, members of the most prominent families in Padua, they had leisure enough to devote themselves to the study of Cabbalah. It was not only Luzzatto's influence, his personal magnetism that attracted them; the thing was in the air. And although all of them were given, like Luzzatto, a most modern general education, their young souls were dancing around the "True Wisdom,"[21] as the Cabbalah was called, like moths fluttering around a flame. But it was Moses Hayyim who, to their mind, possessed this secret knowledge and there was something extraordinary, something wonderful about his personality, some vague hints of communication with higher worlds, hints of a Messianic promise for him and for all Israel,—and hero worship started. Luzzatto became their teacher and their spiritual leader. In the past there were two examples of Cabbalah study-circles led by two great holy teachers: Rabbi Simeon, son of Johai, and Rabbi Isaac Luria. Why not found a third circle for the study of the Holy Zohar, to be led by Moses Hayyim Luzzatto? Who knows, possibly here may be accomplished what the former did not succeed

[21] חכמת האמת.

in: bringing salvation to Israel. And the study-circle was founded. There were seven disciples—enthusiasts who signed the Regulations of the Circle,[22] the beginning of a mystic movement which, if not checked by the Rabbis a few years later, might have turned the tide of Jewish history into a different channel. It was thus probably, that the seemingly insignificant movement of the Essenes (אסיים) started, out of which Christianity arose.

The Regulations (signed by Israel Hezekiah Trevis, Isaac[23] Marini, Jekutiel of Vilna, Jacob Israel Forte, Solomon Dina, Michael Terni, and Jacob Hayyim Castel Franco) are a most interesting document. The aim of the circle is to study the Holy Zohar continuously, without interruption, each member to read a portion in turn, from early morn until the hour for evening service, except on Sabbaths and holidays. The study of the Zohar is not for the purpose of the private (spiritual) advancement of any one of the members,[24] not even for the purification of their sins, but it is expressly and exclusively for the sake of "perfecting"[25] the Holy Shekinah and all Israel. Nothing else is meant but the spiritual advancement of Israel (or, to be more exact as to implication, bringing about national salvation), which coveted ideal will be realized in quite a simple way: to begin with, through the continuous study of the Holy Zohar, without interruption. It was no doubt Luzzatto's wild flight of imagination which carried these

[22] תקנות תלמידי רמח"ל, No. 3 in *M. H. Luzzatto's letters*, see footnote 13.

[23] Not "Issachar," as Isaacs erroneously transcribes the Hebrew name in his monograph *A Modern Hebrew Poet*, New York, 1878 (the full Hebrew text of the Regulations is to be found in the newly-discovered letters). Isaac Marini was a dear friend of Luzzatto's, in whose honour the poem "שיר הלולים להתונת יצחק בן שבתי מארינו" was written.

[24] "שלא יחשב הלמוד הזה לשום אחד מהחברים לתיקון פרטי אפילו לכפרת עוונות"..

[25] "לתיקון השכינה הקדושה ולתיקון כל ישראל." Satisfying the requirements necessary for salvation is implied.

youths off their feet. He must have been sure of the mysterious effect this continuous Zohar-study, supported by the use of certain cabbalistic formulas (יחודים), would produce in the higher worlds, thus forcing a change in the status of Israel below. And to ensure this, as paragraph six of the Regulations states, the members agree to add to the weight of their Zohar-study "the general study of their revered teacher, Moses Hayyim, which he pursues at the Rabbinical College at noon-time."[26] From another source (one of his letters to Rabbi Benjamin Cohen) we know, that Luzzatto kept those mysterious formulas in mind continually for years. "The truth is"—he writes in that letter—"that for years I diligently busied myself with these formulas, keeping them in mind almost every quarter of an hour, as I am doing even now, thank God. I also tried to keep myself in bodily and mental cleanliness."[27] This will explain the immensity of the value attached by Luzzatto himself and his young friends to his "general study" as a positive factor in the realization of their ideal. The Rules in the Study Circle were practical enough; and as, no doubt, it was Luzzatto who both made them and wrote them out, they may be considered proof of his abilities, though not fully applied, as an organizer. There was no fixed time for anyone of the members to come to the Circle, but "everyone was at liberty to attend whenever possible." The only condition was that "when one comes to replace another, the new-comer should start the reading of the Zohar before the first ended, so as not to permit any interruption whatever." Everyone of the members was also at liberty to

[26] שיוכלו לצרף ללימוד הזה הלימוד הכללי של כמוהר"ר משה חיים רבם נר"ו, הלמוד שהוא לומד בישיבה בחצי היום'. The translation Isaacs offers is entirely erroneous.

[27] האמת הוא כי שנים שקדתי על ענין היחודים ליחד יחודים כמעט בכל רביע שעה, יחוד א' כאשר אני מתמיד גם עתה ח"ל וגם ראיתי לעמוד בטהרה'. . . No. 13 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. See foot-note 13.

bring along, sometimes, "one who is not a member of the Holy Society," and this stranger could replace his host at the study table, "this to be considered as if it was one of the holy members[28] doing the reading." This last rule was most practical: it made provision for new candidates, for the further growth of the Society.

Very soon the first seven "holy members" were joined by nine more, whose names are signed under "Additional Rules" (These are, second names omitted in the original manuscript: Isaiah b. Joseph, Isaiah b. Abraham, Mordecai b. Rephael, Solomon b. Samuel, Moses b. Michael, Abraham b. Jacob, Isaac Hayyim b. Jacob Isaac Katz, Simeon b. Jacob Vita—a brother of Moses Hayyim—and Mordecai b. Ben-Zion). The new rules express more fully the aim of the Holy Society. It is "to do their work before the Lord" in all truth and sincerity, and with absolute love without minding derision,[29] without expecting any reward at all for themselves, but for the perfection of the Holy Shekinah and all Israel, all their reward for their *mizwot* and good deeds "to be made a gift to the nation." This Holy Society, if not checked too soon, could have become epoch-making; with it a religious revivalist movement like that of *hassidism* might have originated. The trouble for the society was, that Italy was too far removed from Germany and Poland where the greater Jewish masses lived at the time; and this fact made it easier for the Rabbis in the leading Jewish communities, to put out the fire kindled in Padua.

In the same Rules the newly-elected members also agreed "to love each other and to treat each other in a brotherly way and kind-heartedly and to accept each other's remonstrances without anger or hate, but in a loving spirit

[28] החבירים הקדושים",.

[29] "להתחזק בעבודתם לפני ה' ולבלתי חוש לשום לעג וצחוק שבעולם." This shows there was some derision of this strange Circle by people in their environment.

and in a peaceful manner pleasing to God." Such a rule reminds one of the Essenes. They agreed "to beware of any lie and that their lips pronounce nothing but the truth." All the members, old and new, were to be taxed with a peculiar form of tithes: every tenth day one of them, in turn, would have to fast. The Rule concerning studying the Zohar was changed, all the members now agreeing to study it in turn the whole day and night till 6 in the morning. Besides the Zohar, some of them undertook "to read all through the Bible, and some all through the Mishnah, every month." The members were not to reveal to anyone in the world anything that happened at the secret sessions of the Society (not including what they learned in the Torah outside of Cabbalah[30]) except by permission of their revered teacher.[31] Furthermore, if in the interest of secrecy the Holy Members, who first signed the Rules, found it necessary to do something in the circle without revealing its nature to the newly consecrated, the latter were to leave the room without any objections. Otherwise there was to be complete equality in the status of the old members and the new.

Still more interesting is the procedure adopted at this improvised Cabbalistic school.[32] No talking is to be allowed during the study period, but everybody is to sit down "at

[30] "חוץ מדברי תורה."

[31] This rule is important for the elucidation of one vague point in Luzzatto's biography, as to whether he knew beforehand of the letter his friend and admirer Jekutiel wrote concerning him in 1729, in which Luzzatto is magnified beyond praise as a man of God, who has all the angels at his command. It was this letter which determined the fate of Moses Hayyim, having been the formal cause of the war declared by Moses Ḥagiz and the rest of the Rabbis against Luzzatto and cabbalistic heresy in general. Jekutiel's letter, as this rule proves clearly, could not have been written without the sanction, or at least the knowledge, of Luzzatto.

[32] The description of this procedure is given among the Rules, under the heading: "וזה משפט הבה"ת הקדוש הזה."

the holy table" in fear and trembling of heart. As soon as Israel son of Michael, one of the members elected for the purpose, says aloud: "Do honor unto the Lord, the God of Israel,"[33] the holy members are to bow their heads and thus remain silent in fear and reverence. Anyone coming into the study-group at the time is to greet his fellows with a bow of his head saying: "Let the honor of God be forever,"[34] all present to reply: "Let the name of God be blessed."[35] A person leaving is to go out facing his fellow-members and saying: "Blessed be God from Zion."[36] When their revered teacher Moses Hayyim comes in, he is to say: "Let the Lord, our God, be with us,"[37] all present to reply, "God will give strength to his people."[38] When sitting down at his table, he is to say: "God is high over all the nations,"[39] the rest to reply: "Who is like the Lord, our God."[40] Then Israel, the sergent-at-arms, is to say: "Do honor unto the Lord, the God of Israel," all present are to bow their heads and remain silent in fear and trembling before the presence of the Holy Shekinah. Then Rabbi Jekutiel, Luzzatto's lieutenant, is to say to all the holy members: "Apply your minds,"[41] and the lesson is to start. Finally: no one of the readers is to raise his voice in this holy place. How like Luzzatto is this last rule in particular!

This much more is to be said with regard to the "Constitution" of Luzzatto's Circle, before the topic is dismissed. Among the Regulations discussed there is one emphasizing

[33] This, as all the rest, was to be said in Hebrew: "תנו כבוד לה' אלקי ישראל."

[34] "יהי כבוד ה' לעולם" etc.

[35] "יהי שם ה' מבורך" etc.

[36] "ברוך ה' מציון" etc.

[37] "יהי ה' אלוקינו עמנו" etc.

[38] "ה' עוז לעמו יתן" etc.

[39] "רם על כל גויים ה'" etc.

[40] "מי כה' אלהינו" etc. המשפילי etc.

[41] "שימו לבבכם" etc.

the importance for the members "not to treat lightly any rabbinic law, however rigid, or any Jewish custom, far be it from God, but to observe even more than required in order to be blameless before the Lord, the God of Israel."[42] This paragraph could satisfy anyone of the Rabbis, even Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz. But at the end of the "Constitution" there is a peculiar ring in the seemingly innocent phrase: "Till now the Lord helped them (referring to the members), let Him not leave them nor forsake them forever until Shiloh comes, to whom obedience of the nations is due," etc.[43] This is not only a formal customary ending. The Messianic hope, implied in it, undoubtedly refers to Luzzatto.

It is the less to be doubted for the following reason: Exactly at the time this cabbalistic school was in the process of organization, something unique in the Jewish history of the period happened, something strange and unbelievable, which was nevertheless a psychological fact, perhaps belonging to the province of pathology. This fact is registered by Luzzatto himself, in a letter to Rabbi Benjamin Cohen, a most striking human document, in all sincerity and earnestness. Here is his own testimony: "The thing in short happened as follows: The first of the month of Sivan of the year 5487 (1727), while keeping in mind a cabbalistic formula, I fell asleep; and when awaking I heard a voice saying in Aramaic: 'I came down to reveal hidden secrets of the Holy King.' I stood trembling somewhat, then I felt encouraged, and the voice did not stop revealing things mysterious. The next day at the same time I took the precaution to be left to myself in the room when the voice came again revealing another (Heavenly) secret. Until one

[42] שלא לזלזל בשום חומרא ומנהג ישראל ח"ו אלא לעשות משמרת למשמרת להיות נקיים לפני ה' אלוקי ישראל.

[43] עד הנה עזרם ה' אל יעזבם ואל ישם לעד עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים כדבר שנאמר כי אז אהפוך לעמים שפה ברורה לקרוא כלם בשם ה' ולעבדו שכם אחד והיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה ה' אחד ושמו אחד.

day he told me he was a Maggid[44] sent from Heaven, and gave me certain formulas to keep in mind every day, until he returns. I saw nothing of him; but I heard his voice speaking out of my mouth. Then he gave me permission to ask him questions. About three months later he gave me other formulas to keep in mind daily, so as to deserve to be visited by Elijah; ordering me at the same time to write a commentary on Kohelet, according to the cabbalistic explanations of each verse revealed to me by him. Then Elijah came and told Heavenly secrets; after doing which he said, that Meṭaṭron, the Great Prince of Heaven, would come. When the latter arrived, I knew it was he, because Elijah told me. Since that time I can recognize each one of them. Also there are holy souls who come, their names I know not, and they tell me new things which I write down . . . . All these things I am doing while falling on my face, and while seeing the holy souls as if through a dream in human forms."[45]

We have in this letter a human document of great interest for the biographer as well as the historian, for the poet as well as the scientist, for the psychologist as well as the psychiatrist. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, the religious fanatic, is perhaps as interesting a phenomenon in Jewish

[44] An angel sent from above to tell, or teach a most deserving person the Heavenly secrets, according to an old belief. Such a Maggid (Teller), it is said, used to come to teach Rabbi Joseph Karo, author of the *Shulhan Aruk*. Luzzatto surely heard of it, and being easily impressed and of an abnormally developed imagination, this thing probably became a form of hallucination.

[45] אך הצעת המעשה בקיצור ביום ר"ח סיון התפ"ז בהיותי מיחד יחוד א' נרדמתי ובהקיצי שמעתי קול אומר לגלאה נחיתנא רזין טמירין דמלכא קדישא ומעט עמדתי מרעיד ואחר נתחזקתי והקול לא פסק ואמר סוד מה שאמר. ביום הב' בשעה ההיא השתדלתי להיות לבדי בחדר וחזר הקול ואמר סוד אחר עד שאח"כ ביום אחד נגלה לי שהוא מגיד שלוח מן השמים ומסר לי יחודים פרטים לכוין בכל יום" etc. No. 13 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. See foot-note 13.

history as the Maid of Orleans is in the annals of France; interesting in particular for the student of social maladies in those centuries, so childish and so terrific, strange and somehow magnificent. It is, after all, the power of Faith that counts.

CHAPTER II

Beginning of The Luzzatto Persecution

The following three years (1727–1730) were for Luzzatto one continuous mystic ecstasy. No one knew of it for a long time; even his parents did not suspect anything. But little by little Luzzatto, who was by nature of an expansive disposition, began to confide his secret to his most trusted friends. It was at that time that Luzzatto became prodigiously prolific as an author, having written more than three thousand pages at the dictation of the Maggid, as he believed; and the University student, Jekutiel Gordon, having heard of the wondrous origin of his writings, became his faithful copyist. So great was Jekutiel's admiration that he decided to drop his University work (it was for the purpose of studying medicine that he came to Padua from Vilna) and to devote himself to the Cabbalah exclusively. But Luzzatto advised him not to discontinue his University studies. Nevertheless Jekutiel neglected them more or less, giving most of his time and energy to the work with Luzzatto and to the Holy Society. It was probably for his zeal that Luzzatto complimented him so highly, saying Jekutiel's soul was related to that of a great ancient Rabbi. Could there be any greater reward for a faithful disciple than to hear such praise from the lips of his master?

The daring statement made by Luzzatto with regard to Jekutiel's soul was not the only one of its kind to be found in cabbalistic literature. Rabbi Naphtali, author of the *Emek Hamelek*,[46] who lived much earlier than Luzzatto,

[46] See עמק המלך, אמשטרדם, הת"ח, דף י' עמוד ב'. The same author tells us Luria believed he himself was Messiah son of Joseph (משיח בן יוסף). See דף י"א ע"ב. This may have suggested to Luzzatto's inflamed

tells us, Rabbi Isaac Luria said of his disciple, Rabbi Hayyim Vital, that his was the soul of Rabbi Akiba. Luzzatto writes the same thing in one of his letters to his teacher Bassan concerning Bassan's own soul.[47] A little later—after Jekutiel's famous letter, which will be discussed in the next paragraph, divulged Luzzatto's secret —Rabbi Benjamin Cohen of Reggio writes to Moses Hayyim, as though to a man of God, asking him why he, Benjamin Cohen, had to undergo such sufferings, being sick for so many years. To which question Luzzatto replies authoritatively, in the name of the Maggid: this suffering was for the expiation of the sins of his generation; Luzzatto thus completing a previous statement made by him with regard to Cohen's soul being related to that of the prophet Ezekiel.[48] This claim to knowledge of soul-relationships (as will be seen also in Jekutiel's letter) seems to have been considered by Luzzatto, as well as by all cabbalists, a necessary attribute of a Godly man. Still, this will remain a psychological enigma of considerable interest to the student of Luzzatto: Was he blindly influenced by the example of R. Isaac Luria? Or, was there, besides sincere belief, an element of conscious method employed by both a child-like and clever man who, in preparing for leadership, studied human nature and made use of its weaknesses? That element is to be found particularly in the character of more modern heroes, it is to be found even in the diary of a pure idealist and morally exalted personality like Theodor Herzl. We do not undertake to solve this riddle definitely, but

imagination the possibility of his being Messiah son of David (משיח בן דוד).

[47] No. 28 in *Luzzatto's Letters* הלא כבר הודעתי לכ"ח, איך שרשו מר' עקיבא בן יוסף" . . . This shows that Luzzatto read the story concerning Luria.

[48] No. 13 in *Luzzatto's Letters* משרש יחזקאל הנביא . . . ובהיות כ"ת . . . . See also No. 18: ועל אשר שאל על דברת תוכחותיו . . . רק על חטא הדור ולתיקונו המה" . . .

this is how Luzzatto's general treatment, in his youth, of Jekutiel, Bassan and particularly Benjamin Cohen, strikes us. We do not consider it the duty of a biographer to remove from his subject all blemish; and we trust our subject is sound enough not to need it. The truth is, we think, that in his youth (and only then[49]) Moses Hayyim Luzzatto was not free of a few moral faults, particularly of two things: conscious method, used at least in part, and boastful pride.[50] Can we think of him otherwise, if he sanctioned beforehand Jekutiel's famous letter, as we have grounds for believing?

Of course, it was more of a sub-conscious process in Luzzatto's mind than otherwise. Except for this momentary love of fame, of which he himself may have been unaware at the time, it was probably his sincere conviction that the time for him to reveal himself to himself and to all Israel was fast approaching. More than two years had now passed since the Maggid appeared to him, and it seems to have been the Maggid's advice to begin propagating the hopeful piece of news among trusted cabbalistic friends, thus enlarging the limited circle of his disciples little by little. This was the way followed by all great religions of the Earth at the very start . . . . And Jekutiel, first apostle of Luzzatto, wrote to two of his friends, prominent

[49] He is morally faultless, admirably faultless, at the end of his life, in the Amsterdam period, when he wrote his ethical book *Messilat Yesharim*, which may be considered an exact reflection of his personality at the time.

[50] It is characteristic of the young Luzzatto in this respect, that in writing to his teacher Bassan he always started with ההר הגדול ירום, ונשא, פנת יקרת אבן הראשה מורי ורבי נר"ו", but at this particular period, when his self-confidence is at its highest, he drops the words, מורי ורבי (my teacher). Bassan seems to have felt this sentiment and resented it, when expressed in a more tangible manner, in one of his letters to Luzzatto. No. 34, also No. 55, in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

cabbalists, one a Rabbi in Vilna,[51] the other a rich merchant in Vienna, known to have sympathized with the Sabbatai Zevi movement. The name of the last was Mordecai Jaffe, and it is to him that Jekutiel wrote as follows: "I do not know you, but I heard your name, which is known at all gates . . . . It is therefore becoming to reveal to you a divine secret, only part of it, because the whole could not be completely expressed in one letter . . . . In short, I want to tell you, sir, what a great light was granted to us by God, blessed be He. Namely, we have here a youth, twenty-three years old, who is a holy man. It is my master and teacher . . . . a Godly man, whose revered name is Moses Vita Luzzatto. Behold, two and a half years ago a Maggid appeared to him, a holy and awful angel, who revealed to him wonderful secrets. At an earlier period, when only fourteen years old, he already knew all the writings of the ARI[52] by heart. But he was hiding this thing without telling it to his father nor to any one in the world . . . . He has in him a spark of Akiba son of Joseph, and behold eight months ago a holy and awful angel appeared and revealed to him many secrets and formulas enabling him to bring down from Heaven the Heavenly Academy.[53] He ordered him also, with the approval of the Lord, blessed be He, and of His Shekinah, to write out a new Zohar, which book was named by the Heavenly authorities *Zohar Tinyana*[54] for a great purpose known to us.

[51] It was Rabbi Heshel to whom the above-mentioned Benjamin Cohen wrote asking to be taught the secrets of Cabbalah in their application to the present, as he heard of Rabbi Heshel having told a certain doctor Moses Burghe "all that happened to them and that was going to happen in the future." See D. Kaufmann, *Ein Brief R. Benjamin Cohen Vitali's in Reggio*, *Monatschrift*, 41 Jahrg. pp. 700–708.

[52] האר"י meaning Lion and referring to Isaac Luria, who is so called by his admirers. The name is composed in Hebrew of his initials.

[53] "להוריד הישיבה של מעלה בכחם" etc. Nos. 5–7 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[54] Meaning "a second edition of the Zohar." (זהר תנינא).

The procedure is as follows: this angel speaks out of his mouth, but we, his disciples, hear nothing whatever; and the angel first reveals to him wondrous secrets, then our master orders Elijah to come down at once, the latter comes and tells him new secrets of his own. And sometimes, Meṭaṭron himself, the Great Prince of Heaven, arrives, also the True Shepherd,[55] Grandfather Abraham . . . and sometimes the King-Messiah and the God-man.[56] And behold, he has already finished one commentary on Kohelet, a wondrous and awe inspiring work. Now he was ordered to compose seventy *Tikunim*[57] explaining only the final verse of the Torah "all the mighty hand"[58] etc. He also wrote three books on the Torah, all three embracing only one small portion, that of ויצא, all this in a cabbalistic awe inspiring way, and everything in the language of the Zohar. He also knows all the transmigrations of the souls and the requirements of every man's soul as to purification.[59] To conclude: There is nothing hidden from him. At first his Maggid was permitted to tell him only the secrets of the Torah, but now he tells him everything, and no one knows of it except us, his disciples. He (Luzzatto) told me a great secret with reference to the reason for my coming over here to keep him company in his studies,[60] because there is nothing without a reason. He also told me my soul relationships and what was required for its purification.[61] And it is an ordinary thing for the Faithful Shepherd and for Meṭaṭron, the Prince of Heaven, to speak of him (Luzzatto) in connection with Rabbi

[55] רעיא מהימנא a title referring to Moses.

[56] אדם קדמאה.

[57] שבעים תקונים", an untranslatable cabbalistic term for certain formulas, commentaries, etc.

[58] על פסוק כל היד החזקה"..

[59] והוא יודע כל הגלגולים והתיקונים של כל אדם"..

[60] ללמד עמו"..

[61] וגם הגיד לי מנשמתי ותקוני לתקן", etc.

Simeon b. Johai, author of the Zohar,[62] and to compare him with the latter in every respect, of which honor he (Luzzatto) has proven himself worthy, because no one up to this time has been granted such a thing since the days of Rabbi Simeon b. Johai. And behold, for the love of the Torah I was ready to forsake all secular wisdom, but he told me, at the direction of the Maggid, to do one thing and not to leave the other for reasons that I have to hide. Now, all the facts above-stated are hidden and unknown to anyone except to our intimate group; and if I wanted to tell everything there is to be told with regard to my master above mentioned—time would end, but there would be no end to the story. But if you want to know some more concerning your own soul and the proper means for its purification, please reply and I will gladly inform you gradually . . . . as it is the first time I am writing to you, and I am not sure this letter will reach you. And please, sir, do not suspect what is holy[63] and do not compare this with the other cases of falsity and lies,[64] because words of truth make themselves felt at once . . . . For lack of time I will cut it short. Let God lengthen your days and years. Your faithful servant, who says these things secretly, because we are not yet permitted to reveal it publicly, Jekutiel son of the pious Rabbi Leib from Vilna, Candidate for the Medical Degree."[65]

This letter does not require any comment, it speaks for

[62] According to the modern view, the Zohar was written by the cabbalist Moses de Leon in the 13th century.

[63] "ואל יחשב אדוני ח'ו להטיל מום בקדשים".

[64] Meaning Sabbatai Zevi and his followers.

[65] "העומד על התורה ועל העבודה לקבל התר הרופאים אי"ה." Prof. D. Kaufmann found in the Register of the Paduan University the following entrance: "Dominus Jekutiel Sperodeum Gordon, Hebreus filius quondam domini Leonis de civitate Vilna in Lithuania." Jekutiel graduated M.D. in 1732, practiced medicine in Brest-Litovsk. *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XXIII, pp. 256–7.

itself, and it is practically the starting-point of the physical tragedy in Luzzatto's life. Spiritually the tragedy started the day he was born, with a conflicting soul in a conflicting age. Had Moses Hayyim Luzzatto lived at an earlier date—he would no doubt have become a great religious leader; had he lived later—he would have become a great poet of the modern school. But living in a transition period as he did, tragedy was knocking at his door the first day he was ushered into this world . . . . It meant the fulfillment of his destiny.

Tragedy began the moment Jekutiel's letter, written to a private individual, fell into the hands of Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz of Altona-Hamburg, formerly of Jerusalem. He was a most dangerous personality for a man like Luzzatto to encounter. The previous period, the period of Sabbatai Zevi, when mysticism had the upper hand in Jewish life, called forth fighting spirits in defense of the Law. Whole families[66] excelled in this defensive war which turned naturally into an offensive on every front, as soon as the pseudo-Messiah movement failed. Such was the Ḥagiz family, with whom it became a tradition to fight the battles of the Law against mysticism. The father, Jacob Ḥagiz, fought Sabbatai Zevi himself; the son, Moses Ḥagiz, attacked his followers, particularly Nehemiah Hayyun, the "snake," as he called him. In such battles one's character becomes hardened; one develops aggressiveness, cruelty and perseverance. It is not personal cruelty—it is in the name of the Law. Thus Javert, Hugo's immortal type of "the arm of the law," treats Jean Valjean with methodical cruelty for no other reason than that "Law should reign supreme." Such an eternal type of Javert we have in

[66] Such as, for instance, the brothers Francis, Jacob and Emanuel, who were fighting the Pseudo-Messiah-movement in their satires. See: Francis' מחק שפחים, ed. Brody, Berlin, 1892.

Jewish history in the person of Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz. Unfortunately, it was to the attention of this man that Jekutiel's letter was brought, and he at once became Luzzatto's enemy for life. He immediately sent a copy of this letter to the Rabbinate of Venice, the famous city under whose political sway Padua had been since 1405; adding to Jekutiel's letter only the following few lines: "Yea, mountains of Israel, my teachers and masters, upon you, the wise men, the Rabbis and the leaders of the community, the duty rests, after having rent your clothes in mourning . . . . to investigate and to uproot this wicked company, before it propagates its wickedness among the ignorant mass of the people, and to condemn all members thereof as enemies of Israel.[67] But I saved my soul.[68] Thus speaks humble Moses Ḥagiz of Jerusalem . . . . Please inform us of any further developments." In this short letter Javert has declared war against Jean Valjean.

The Venetian Rabbis were profoundly impressed by this letter, and particularly by the enclosure. They were also flattered, no doubt, by the supposition implied in the letter that they had authority over the Paduan community, which they had not, as Luzzatto himself pointed out to them in a moment of indignation a few years later. The Venetian Rabbis of that particular period were personalities of small caliber, and being insignificant, they were pleased to feel themselves suddenly important figures in a great controversy which was already looming on the horizon. And they set themselves to work . . . It is this psychological motive, and no other, that underlies their activities as persecutors of Luzzatto in the years 1730–1735. Of course later on, after Luzzatto dared

[67] "ולדון את כל בני חברה זו כרודפים את ישראל". . . Nos. 5–7 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[68] "ואני את נפשי הצלתי," meaning that he warned them.

challenge their authority, there was added the other motive of personal animosity. This explains sufficiently their vehemence and somewhat biased state of mind. Still later, when it became known Luzzatto and his parents had lost the greater part of their wealth, the vehemence of their attack was augmented.[69] This explanation should destroy the legend accepted by Almanzi in his biography of Luzzatto (*Kerem Hemed*, III, p. 116) that it was a treatise of Luzzatto's in defense of the Cabbalah against the famous Venetian Rabbi Judah Leon de Modena,[70] that aroused their anger in wounding their local patriotic pride. Judah Leon de Modena was a remarkable man and most interesting personality; and it would have done honor to the Venetian Rabbis to have stood up in defense of his memory. Unfortunately, the documentary evidence before us excludes any such possibility.[71]

The Rabbis of Venice at once wrote to Rabbi Isaiah Bassan, Luzzatto's teacher, residing at the time in Reggio. In this letter they wrote among other things, concerning the copy of Jekutiel's letter which they enclosed: "it says, there is a prophet among us, to whom all hidden secrets are known . . . Indeed, sir, believe us, that after having read two or three pages of the aforementioned letter our heart trembled and we said in fear to each other: 'What is

[69] R. Jacob Emden, who opposed Luzzatto with the rest of the Rabbis, comments nevertheless on the treatment accorded Luzzatto by the Venetian Rabbis as follows: ושמא יש לומר שבתחלתו לפי שהיה עתיר נכסין ובני משפחתו בעלי כיסין, נפלה אימתו עליהם. See his תורת הקנאות, p. 112. This remark is characteristic of Emden's straight-forwardness and moral sense.

[70] Author of the Book ארי נוהם, in which he tried to prove the falsity of the Cabbalah and the late date of the Zohar composition. De Modena lived at a much earlier date.

[71] As that treatise (מאמר הויכוח ומקובל חוקר or, first published in Sklov, 1784) belongs to a later period. See Luzzatto's letters to Bassan referring to it in 1734. Nos. 83–86 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. See also Bassan's letter to R. B. C. Rapaport—No. 114a Ibid.

this the Lord has done to us?' "[72] . . . Of course, they decided to write to Bassan because they knew him to be Luzzatto's teacher and to love him "as a father loves a son," and to be a scholar of repute in Cabbalah He is the man to inform them as to whether Luzzatto's high claims have any foundation and to acquaint them with the whole matter "in a quiet way so as not to advertise it among the ignorant who would mock at such things," and to avoid the possibility of this thing "becoming known to Gentiles who would take it as a pretext to attack us."[73] . . . There was indeed grave danger in that direction, as the experience of the Jews in the various Christian countries immediately after the failure of the pseudo-Messiah movement had proven clearly enough; only this danger was forseen not by them originally but by the really sincere Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz.

A very interesting correspondence[74] followed between Bassan and Luzzatto. Bassan was amazed and hesitated to believe a thing unbelievable; Luzzatto—solemnly inspired and triumphant. The latter's writings to Bassan of that period, partly of a cabbalistic nature, partly of a personal character, are the continuous ecstatic hymn of one who feels himself chosen by Providence. Aye, chosen he was, but in a different capacity than he himself believed! These letters are very interesting and they indemnify us somewhat for our loss in the field of poetry: Luzzatto wrote only a few beautiful lyrics during these fateful years, when his mind was all absorbed by the idea of his "divine

[72] זאת אומרת כי נביא יש בתוכנו לפניו נגלו כל העלומות . . . באמת ובהמים יאמין מעכ"ת כי בקראנו שנים שלשה דלחות מהאנרת הנז' יצא לבנו וחרדנו איש אל אחיו לאמר מה זאת עשה האלהים לנו . . . Nos. 5–7 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. See foot-note 13.

[73] אכן בזכרנו את ציון מעכ"ת שהוא רבו מובהק וכאב את בן ירצהו ולו שם ביודעים בנסתרות לה' אלהינו על ידו נדע הדבר בהצנע לכת, ולא יתפרסם אצל עמי הארץ המלעיגים דברים כאלה וקרוב הדבר שיתגלו הדברים לנכרים באים בשערינו אלה להתגולל עלינו . . . ולהבאיש את ריחנו בעיניהם . . . Ibid.

[74] Newly discovered.

mission." In these letters he tried to convince Rabbi Bassan and Bassan's father-in-law, R. Benjamin Cohen of Reggio, of the truth of his claim as to his communication with the Maggid. We have already seen that Benjamin Cohen, who was less of a thinker than a Cabbalist and who was suspected by Ḥagiz of having been a strong sympathizer with the Sabbatai Zevi movement, recognized at once Luzzatto's claim to divine authority and even inquired of him as to the reason of his (Cohen's) continuous sickness. Not so Bassan. He, being more of a thinker and a logician, hesitated up to the end, keeping his mind open, anxious to be convinced, anxious perhaps to be recognized as the teacher of the "Chosen of God," and to become immortal with him, at the same time unable to close his eyes to some weaknesses of Luzzatto which precluded the possibility of his being the chosen vessel of Providence. In one of his letters to Luzzatto his teacher refers to the "well known frivolous behaviour" of Luzzatto during his early youth.[75] This implication of his having dallied with some fair maiden perhaps compliments Luzzatto as a poet, but of course rather disqualified him as a pious man dealing with angels. In another letter Bassan comes back to the same subject, stating his doubts more explicitly. These doubts could be reduced to the following points: 1. "If Rabbi Simeon b. Johai and Rabbi Isaac Luria are not to be doubted, it is because both were great men leading holy lives, while Luzzatto is not known as a saint.[76] 2. Luzzatto was at the time twenty-three years old and still unmarried, which was against the custom;[77] also he did not grow a

[75] . . . ומה גם שיש רגלים לדבר שבשנים שעברו אחרי עיניך הלך לבך כמפורסם לרבים No. 59 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[76] ואם רשב"י והאר"י זלה"ה לא יסתפק אדם בהם ח"ו, הלא גדולי ישראל היו כל א' בדורו ומופלאים בחסידות ופרישות וחזר הדין לקושיא הראשונה כי אתה לא הוחזקת בכך . . . No. 43 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[77] There was a reason for it, as will be shown later.

beard.[78] 3. Rabbi Isaac Luria explained most difficult passages in the Zohar in such a way as to make them clear to everybody, while Luzzatto, in all his examples sent to Bassan, did not show the same capacity.[79] 4. In one of his cabbalistic treatises Luria writes that men of different caliber as to their personalities and deeds would have respectively Maggidim of higher or lower order, and sometimes a Maggid could be a composite of good and evil, the good telling the truth and the evil telling lies.[80] 5. It is said by Luria in another treatise, that since the destruction of the Temple, when the Torah was burned, the demoniac world came into possession of its secrets, and Ashmedai, King of the Demons, is taking courses in the Torah in the Heavenly Academy. It is therefore possible, Luzzatto's Maggid is not an angel but a demon, possibly sent by the King of Darkness to lead him, Luzzatto, and Israel astray.[81] 6. In his letters to Bassan, Luzzatto persistently keeps to the subject of the Messiah. This circumstance aroused Bassan's suspicions in particular, "as this seems to be a clear sign of the Maggid's demoniac origin, since it is the custom of demons to inflame Jewish minds with Messianic hopes so as to make Israel stumble.[82] 7. According to a previous statement of Luzzatto's, he was doing this thing while falling upon his face, which is also suspicious, as there is the terrible possibility that while falling upon his

[78] גם מה שבעיני החאני"ש לזרא יען היותך פנוי לא דבר ריק הוא וגם מורי חמי זלה"ה . . . ואני התלחשנו בזה, גם נדברנו על מה שאינך מגדל זקן No. 35 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[79] כי כל מה שהוא זלה"ה פירש מדברי הזוהר ברור לעינים שהיא כונת הזוהר האמתית . . . No. 43 Ibid.

[80] שילמדנו האר"י זלה"ה בשער הנבואה פ"ב שלפי מדרגת האדם ולפי מעשיו יהיה המגיד ואפשר שיהיה כולו מטוב ורע, והטוב מגיד האמת, והרע מגיד שקר. Ibid.

[81] הלא בפירוש כתב האר"י זלה"ה בס' הכוונות בתיקון חצות שמיום שנחרב הבית ונשרפה התורה נמסרו סודותיה ורזיה לחיצונים . . . דאשמדאי סליק למתיבתא דרקיעא ללמוד תורה . . . Ibid.

[82] אבל קשה בעיני שיבואו דבריך בהתמדה על ענין משיח . . . שזה אחד מן הסימנים המובהקים להיות המגיד בעלטה ח"ו שזו דרכן של סטרין אחרנין לערבב המוחות בדברי משיח להכשיל את ישראל . . . No. 35 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

face some demoniac power takes hold of him.[83] However, despite his personal doubts which he never expressed publicly, Bassan wrote out an extensive reply to the Venetian Rabbis in favor of Luzzatto, urging them to give the latter the benefit of the doubt and promising to examine the matter thoroughly as soon as possible. The letter is full of unmistakable affection on the part of the teacher for his pupil, and shows Bassan at his best, as a man of truth going, nevertheless, to extremes to defend a friend. As such he rightfully won his immortality at the side of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.

Some of Bassan's objections, privately expressed in his letters to Luzzatto, have been voiced also by Moses Ḥagiz, and by R. Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen of Hamburg; Rabbi Joseph Ergas[84] of Livorno raising, in a letter to Bassan, two more: 1. Whatever he, Ergas, read of Luzzatto's writings on Cabbalah, claimed to have been dictated to him by the Maggid, were of the nature of a simple compilation, perhaps better organized and worded, of old thoughts expressed by well-known Cabbalists. Thus, Luzzatto's Rules on Cabbalah, sent to Ergas by Bassan for examination, are mostly taken from a treatise of the famous cabbalist Moses Cordovero, only stated in different language and in a concise form.[85] Evidently, the Maggid would not repeat things to be found in previously published books.[86] 2. In one of his letters to Bassan, apparently communicated to Ergas by the latter, Luzzatto writes: "I may truly say,

[83] עוד לבי חרד על מה שכתבת מאז שכל מה שאתה עושה הוא בנפול על פניך שום זה א' מן הדברים הגורמים להסתפק שמא ח"ו בנפילת אפים כח אחר יתערב בך לא יקום ולא יהיה . . . Ibid.

[84] Well-known scholar in Cabbalah, author of treatises: דברי יוסף, שומר אמונים, מבוא פתחים, and תוכחת מגולה against the heresy of Nehemiah Hayyun. See תולדות חכמי איטליא, Trieste, 1853, p. 146.

[85] See No. 42 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. The judgment of R. Ergas is sound and applicable to most of Luzzatto's writings on Cabbalah.

[86] Ibid. דמוכח נמי שהמגיד לא יגיד מה שנמצא בספרים.

I did not reach even half the caliber of Rabbi Isaac Luria," etc. These words certainly show, that at times, Luzzatto could affect humility, and so Ergas heard of his arrogance from different men who knew him.[87] The important thing to note, in all these objections made by different Rabbis of different countries at different times, is that none of them seemed to doubt the fact itself, they were only divided in their judgment as to whether the Maggid was a holy angel or an impure demon. This characterizes the whole period in Jewish history. At that time Voltaire, the Pope of Reason, was already shouting his defiance of the Pope of Rome and all religion; but in the Jewish ghetto religion, coupled with superstition, still reigned supreme.

It would be impossible to give here an exhaustive study of the voluminous correspondence re Luzzatto between Ḥagiz and the various rabbis of Italy, Germany and Poland, however interesting such a study might be. Some reference, however, should be made here to an interchange of letters between Luzzatto and Ḥagiz, in which the former tries to pacify the latter, at the same time affirming by implication "the truth of the statements made by Rabbi Jekutiel in his letter."[88] To which letter Ḥagiz replied, showing some inconsistencies in Luzzatto's argument, pleading the impossibility that a young man like Luzzatto, "unmarried and living outside of Palestine"[89] should be

[87] גם נצטערתי הרבה בראותי מ"ש החכם הנז' באגרתו וז"ל ובאמת ואמונה אומר שעדיין לא הגעתי למחצית האר"י זלה"ה וכו' כי הן הם הדברים המורים ומגידים דרמות רוחא אית ביה, וכמו ששמעתי מפי אנשים שונים המכירים אותו . . . Ibid.

[88] כי רק בחלקי אשר חלק לי אלהי ישראל, לא בזכות ולא בצדקה כי בחסד וברחמים גדולים ככל האמת אשר כתב הר"ר יקותיאל באגרתו . . . No. 8 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. See also תורת הקנאות, יעבץ, p. 94.

[89] It was the general belief of the Rabbis that prophecy was possible only in the pure air of Palestine, not anywhere else. This may have been one of Luzzatto's motives for going finally to the Holy Land.

able to control the higher powers,[90] and closing with an admonition that "if he really possessed true wisdom he should keep it to himself, because real wisdom rests with the modest."[91] The letter does honor to Ḥagiz as being straightforward and fair minded. Reference must be also made here to a letter written by Luzzatto in his own defense to Chief Rabbi Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen of Hamburg, in which Luzzatto, after trying to show his innocence with regard to the publication of the things he tried to keep secret, makes the tactical blunder of ending with the following fatal challenge, in case his opponents persisted in attacking him: "Let him know that if he, Rabbi Ezekiel, has the authority of all the Rabbis of Germany and Poland . . . I also have authority, the authority of the Lord, blessed be He, and of his Shekinah, and all the members of the Heavenly Academy."[92] With this new challenge adding fuel to the fire, no doubt the storm would have broken on Luzzatto's head much earlier than 1735, had not that "faithful shepherd," Bassan, hurried to his rescue.

While these things were taking place in Luzzatto's public life, something of an undoubtedly tragic nature, at which we can only guess, was happening in his private life. It was a case of unhappy love, it seems, for a cousin of his who reciprocated his affection but was too weak to oppose her parents, who chose her future husband for her. The parents and some of their relations objected to Luzzatto's wooing the girl, against their wish, one of these relations

[90] "דהנה . . . איש חכם כמותך רך בשנים שרוי בלא אשה והוא בחוץ לארץ יש בכחך . . . "לצוות על מטט' שר הפנים . . . ולכל אותם יסודי עולם שנזכר במכתב הרי"ק See No. 31 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[91] . . . ,ואם חלק לך בבינה אל תדחוק את השעה ויהיה לך לבדך כי את צנועים חכמה" Ibid.

[92] . . . ,הנה ידע כ"ת כי אם להדרת קדשו . . . יש כח כל רבני וגאוני אשכנז ופולניא גם לי כח, כח קב"ה ושכינתיה וכל בני מתיבתא עלאה המאירים עיני באור ה' ולא תהיה . . . "ואת לפוקה ח"ו לראות דבר מי יקום חלילה See Luzzatto's own quotation in his letter to Bassan No. 30.

complaining of the fact in grossly exaggerated terms to his teacher Bassan. The latter wrote at once to his pupil, very much angered with the "mistreatment" of the girl by Luzzatto, and Luzzatto, whose heart was aching, replied to Bassan very harshly;[93] a fact unique in their correspondence, which shows perhaps the high degree of mental anguish and suffering Luzzatto was undergoing at the time. While denying the allegations of the girl's relative, Luzzatto shrouds the whole affair in a cloud of mystery; and respecting the wish of a great spirit, we will pass this most intimate corner of his life, without speculating any further.

This fact as it stands, being now a matter of record with the discovery of the Letters, is of far-reaching importance. It fills a gap in the history of Luzzatto's life and solves a few riddles previous writers on the subject were unable to explain for lack of data. It shows, first of all, the reason why Luzzatto, against the custom in those days, married late, despite the remonstrances of Bassan, Ḥagiz and other Rabbis; and why, soon after the episode, he permitted Rabbi Bassan, who came to Padua to visit him and to examine his religious-Messianic claims, to persuade him to marry Zipporah, the daughter of the Mantuan Rabbi David Finzi.[94] This fact, in particular, furnishes the psychological motives which brought Luzzatto first to the climax of challenging the whole world, and then brusquely to the crisis, under the strain of which he meekly signed, at Bassan's advice and persuasion, a document of submission to the will of the Rabbis, the will of Ḥagiz. It was the joy of living and loving that kept up the vital energies of

[93] No. 56 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[94] Luzzatto married in 1731. Zipporah was a faithful companion during all the rest of his life. It is peculiar that even this coupling of the names Moses-Zipporah seemed significant to some of the Rabbis. See Jost. *Die Verfolgung Luzzatto's, Annalen* 1839, No. 6.

his delicate organism; failing which, nothing else mattered, at least for the moment.

Of the document signed by Luzzatto copies were sent to the Venetian Rabbis, to Ḥagiz and the rest of the interested Rabbis. The threatening storm was thus postponed for some time, thanks to Bassan's interference. In this document Luzzatto agrees, since it is the duty of every Jew to obey the command of the Rabbis "even if they said of the right hand it was left and of the left hand it was right,"[95] and undertakes "to stop using any cabbalistic formulas or writing any new books on Cabbalah in any language in the name of a Maggid or holy souls," as long as he remains outside of Palestine. But he leaves to himself the right to write books of his own volition "in Hebrew only, but not in the name of a Maggid or holy souls," also with the express understanding that he must not publish such books in any way whatsoever before they have been approved for publication by Rabbi Bassan and other rabbis whom he may choose.[96] As a sign of good faith Luzzatto delivered all the cabbalistic treatises he wrote up to 1730 to his teacher Bassan, who put them in a wooden box, in the presence of two Venetian emissaries (Rabbi Jacob Belilios and Moses Menahem Merari), placing on the top of them an injunction restraining and forbidding anyone from reading, publishing or making any use whatever of the books, and, after having locked them in the box, gave them for safe-keeping to the venerable Moses Alprun, one of the most prominent members of the Paduan community.

Bassan's intentions were of the very best; he wanted to

[95] ואפילו יאמרו על שמאל שהוא ימין ועל ימין שהוא שמאל . . . (taken from ספרי, שופטים §153). No. 68 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[96] ולסלק ידי לגמרי מעשיית יחודים וחבורים בחכמת האמת באיזה לשון שיהיה בשם מניד ונשמות קדושים, כל עוד שאהיה בחוצה לארץ ורק אני משייר כח לעצמי לחבר מדעתי בלשון הקדש לבד ובלבד שלא בשם מגיד ונשמות קדושים, אמנם בתנאי מפורש ג'כ, שלא אפרסם שום חיבור לשום אדם בעולם, עד יעבור תחת שבט מוסר מורי הרב הנזכר ושאר חכמי ישראל אשר יראה בעיניו . . . Ibid.

save Luzzatto from himself. But this could not be done. Luzzatto was too much of an exalted spirit to permit any consideration of safety to interfere with the natural course of his true inner life. And life was worth nothing to him without Cabbalah. So that the next few years he continued teaching "true wisdom"[97] to his intimate friends of the Study Circle, at the same time trying to observe scrupulously the agreement he signed voluntarily. In those years he wrote almost nothing on Cabbalah, except a few comments on difficult passages in the Zohar, which he never published, according to the terms of the agreement of 1730. Being less absorbed by the Cabbalah, he wrote from time to time exquisite lyrics, elegies on the death of friends, sonnets and hymns in honor of the occasion of a friend's graduation or wedding; which lyrics will be discussed later. So that, as far as the evidence before us shows, there is no blemish on Luzzatto's moral character even as to the formal observance of the aforementioned agreement. And if he was later accused by the Venetian Rabbis of having violated his oath, and even forced to sign such an admission in Frankfort[98]—we must agree with the indignant Bassan that so did Jesebel, queen of Israel, accuse Naboth of Jezreel[99] and murder him judicially in ancient times.

The Venetian Rabbis were meanwhile keeping an eye on Luzzatto, watching and spying on him. They did not like the fact that he was still teaching Cabbalah in the Study Circle. They also "heard" that Bassan, in violence of the "gentlemen's agreement," opened the box entrusted

[97] חכמת האמת, Cabbalah. This was not forbidden by the terms of the agreement.

[98] No. 98b in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[99] See Bassan's letter to R. Baruch C. Rapaport, concerning the Venetian Rabbis: ולפי שלא שת לבו אליהם, באמרו שאינו כפוף להם . . . כי אין ישיבת גאוני פאדובה לישיבתם כפופה, וישטמוהו בעלי חצים . . . וכשועלים בחרבות, . . . כמעשה איזבל עם נבות, העידו עליו עדויות כוזבות . . . *Kerem Hemed*, II, p. 65. Also No. 114A in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

to Alprun and returned part of the books to his pupil. This absurd accusation[100] against a man of generally recognized uprightness like Bassan, was nevertheless brought to the attention of Moses Ḥagiz by the Venetian "noble knights and defenders of righteousness." As early as 1732 Luzzatto complains to Bassan of the system of spying established by someone: "There is here (in Padua) one wicked man . . . who made it his business to write every week to a certain person in Venice, his name is Hayyim Rosanes, and this wicked man writes nothing else but whatever Satan dictates to him without any grounds at all, and on arriving in Venice, the matter at once spreads all over the city, reaching the ear of that fool Belilios, of Rabbi Nehemiah Cohen and others. How can one defend himself against such things? I try hard to do what is good and right, but the fools are still continuing their campaign."[101] In the same letter, Luzzatto refers to another instance of an accusation made by the Venetian Rabbis against him. At Luzzatto's wedding, his young friends surprised him by staging at his house a play, probably written by one of them in honor of the occasion, on the subject of the last war of Gog and Magog,[102] which is to precede, according to a popular legend, the coming of the Messiah. The Venetian Rabbis, it seems, did not fail to complain of this innocent trifle to Rabbi Bassan, who demanded an explanation of Luzzatto. One feels that this is the calm before the approaching storm; the symptoms were all there.

[100] Proven by Bassan to be absolutely false.

[101] יש פה רשע א' לץ נמור שלקח לו מלאכה לכתוב שבת בשבתו לא' בויניציאה שמו חיים רוזאניש וזה הרשע כותב דוקא מה שמשים סמאל בפיו בלא שום שורש וכשהגיע לוויניציאה ממנו מתפשטים הדברים בכל העיר משם אל השוטה בליליוס משם אל ר' נחמיה הכהן וכן עד"ז ואיך אפשר לעמוד על אלה. אני כבר הקעתי את עצמי לעשות את הטוב והישר והשוטים ישתטו בשלהם . . . No. 80 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[102] והאמת היה שחבירי ה'י בין השמחות אשר ת'ל עשינו בנישואי עשו גם הם . . . בלא ידיעתי . . . ועשו כמו קומידיא אחת של מלחמת גוג וגם עשו בביתי מקום שלא היו אחרים שם כלל ומה רע יש בזה . . . Ibid.

CHAPTER III

The Crisis. Last Days of Luzzatto

The crisis came with a change for the worse in the fortunes of the Luzzatto family. Luzzatto, who is ordinarily reticent with regard to financial matters, mentions in one of his letters to Bassan written in 1732, with reference to his father, that "he . . . with the help of God, paid in one week his debts amounting to 12,000 ducats and, thank God, did not suffer any losses thereby."[103] That was probably the beginning of the financial difficulties of the family, which culminated in its decision (never stated formally, but understood) to emigrate to Holland. For this purpose, a brother of Moses Hayyim's went to Amsterdam, as the pioneer of the family, and Moses Hayyim was to go next. He was now husband and father of a son, and, instead of being supported by his father, he now felt it his turn to take care of all the family. No doubt, his anxiety to get out of Italy, where he suffered so much from his inquisitors, and settle in Amsterdam, "the city of freedom," played an important part in bringing about this decision. There Luzzatto planned to publish a little treatise of his, called *A Dispute Between the Philosopher and the Cabbalist*,[104] written in defense of the Cabbalah and directed partly against Rabbi Judah Leon de Modena, the famous opponent of mysticism. In strict conformity with the terms of the agreement of 1730, Luzzatto wrote to Bassan, to whom he had previously sent the manuscript, asking his approval for

[103] הנה מר אבי . . . הוא ח"ל ה" עזרו לפרוע חובותיו בשבוע אחד י"ב אלפים דוק' ועמד על עמדו בלא חסרון והפסד ת"ל . . . letter No. 81.

[104] מאמר הויכוח, also called חוקר ומקובל. See foot-note 71 also 165. Luzzatto is also author of another מאמר הויכוח (בין השכל והנשמה).

its publication. This request Bassan finally granted after much hesitation and remonstrance with Luzzatto as to the possibly dangerous consequences for the latter, giving him his last warning together with his blessing.[105]

This seemingly unimportant circumstance rekindled the fire of religious strife, not again to be extinguished. The matter was at once reported by a spy to the Venetian Rabbis, who, making use of a short stay of Luzzatto's in Venice, directed three emissaries (Rabbis Moses Menahem Merari, Gabriel Paduvani and Jacob Belilios) to visit him and hand him a formal ultimatum. The emissaries demanded: (1) That he, Luzzatto "stop teaching to his pupils the wisdom of Cabbalah which is of his own invention;" (2) that he take an oath "not to publish any work of his without the permission of the Venetian Rabbinical College;" (3) that he sign a new document incorporating the new demands as well.[106] Of course, Luzzatto indignantly rejected this ultimatum, telling the emissaries he stood by the first document signed by him in 1730, but would sign no more papers of this sort, adding in his rightful anger that "anyway he was not obliged to accept their ultimatum, as the Paduan community, of which he was a member, was not under their jurisdiction."[107] This challenge to the authority of the Venetian Rabbis was inexcusable; and they, supposed to be impartial judges, became from now on Luzzatto's worst enemies.

Revenge became the hidden motive and the secret slogan of the reverend gentlemen of Venice. This man was

[105] See Bassan's letter to Luzzatto No. 86. See above foot-note 71.

[106] Report of the Emissaries, Document No. 90 in *Luzzatto's Letters* „וענין השליחות . . . היה, שנדבר אליו בשם מעלת הרבנים הנ'ל . . . שישוב מדרכו הראשונה מללמוד לתלמידיו חכמת הקבלה אשר בדה מדעתו(!) ושיקבל עליו בשבועה ובחרם שלא . . . להדפיס שום חבור אלא בהסכמת ישיבתנו וכל זה יכתוב בשטר אחר ויחתם בחתימת ידו".

[107] Ibid. See also Luzzatto's letter to Bassan No. 89, where he gives his version of the incident.

a criminal already by his daring to tell the truth. They now needed someone to do the work for them, without showing their hands. Such a man, a suspicious character, presented himself to their service in the person of "Rabbi" Solomon Zalman of Lvov (Lemberg). As early as 1731, Luzzatto writes to Bassan: "I wish to inform you, if you do not know it yet, that Rabbi Solomon Zalman was appointed member of the (Venetian) Rabbinate, although there was a crowd of other Rabbis, candidates for the appointment."[108] Bassan himself was at one time candidate for a rabbinical position in Venice, which seems to have been most advantageous financially.[109] No doubt Solomon Zalman succeeded in getting the position much more by flattery and mixing in local politics than by integrity of character or learning and culture. This man, who seems to have been a trusted friend of Jekutiel's, now saw his chance to strengthen his position in the Rabbinate by presenting the needed evidence against Luzzatto.

Solomon Zalman at once presented to the Rabbinate of Venice, as incriminating evidence, a letter of Jekutiel's, written to him, it seems, in confidence.[110] There is nothing incriminating in the letter, except that at the end there was something added in German concerning "the big man, bearded, who just left perfectly persuaded and who started learning from him when the other little man left."[111]

We do not know what was meant by this phrase; neither, surely, did the Venetian Rabbis, as they probably did not understand German and Solomon Zalman could manipulate

[108] אודיעהו אם לא ידע כי נתנו הרבנות לכמוהר"ר שלמה זלמן, עם צנא מלי של רבנים אחרים . . . See Document No. 73 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[109] See Document No. 85 Ibid. Doc. N. 93 contains interesting references to the same Rabbi Zalman.

[110] This letter is incorporated in Document No. 91.

[111] אח"כ כתוב בה בלשון אשכנז, אלו הדברים, האדם הגדול שיש לו זקן הלך ונסע מכאן עם האמונה גמורה ושלימה והתחיל ללמוד ממנו כשהלך האיש האחר הקטן מכאן etc. Ibid.

the translation to his heart's content. No doubt, however, the implication was that Luzzatto was a magician, to whom suspicious characters—perhaps demons—were paying visits, and who probably intended to become pseudo-Messiah. Except for this implication, we do not see any other reason why this letter was included at all by the Venetian Rabbis in the incriminating evidence against Luzzatto. Another item, presented by Solomon Zalman, is a letter written to him by a certain Rabbi Hayyim Alshaik of Breslau in 1734, as follows: "I have received a request from Polish scholars, particularly from the Rabbi of the City of *Zolkiew* . . . who is a brother of the famous . . . Rabbi Judah of *Opatow* . . . He sent me one chapter of the Zohar, asking me to send it, in my turn, to Padua to Rabbi Moses Hayyim Luzzatto for an explanation . . . their chief purpose being to publish his commentary, as the Zohar is being reprinted in the city of *Zolkiew* in an edition de luxe."[112] The insinuation is clear: the Polish Rabbi referred to Luzzatto's commentary on the given chapter; Solomon Zalman and the other Venetian Rabbis, no doubt, purposely took it to mean his whole commentary on the Zohar, e.g., his *Zohar Tinyana*, which Poland might accept, a possibility they knew would terrify Ḥagiz and arouse him to further attacks against Luzzatto. A third item in the vicious evidence was the fact communicated to Rabbi Solomon Zalman by Jekutiel, pupil and friend of Rabbi Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, in confidence, as early as 1730: "that his master, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, wrote out a new book of Psalms, containing 150 poems, and when the *Geulah* comes, the old Psalms of David will be done away with, as they are too

[112] „בקשו ממני חכמי פולוניא ועיקר אב"ד דק"ק זאלקווי שהיה מקדם אב"ד בק"ק אפטא . . . ששלח לידי מאמר א' מהזוהר וביקש ממני שאשלח לק"ק פאדובה לסי' משה חיים לוצאטו שיתן להם תשובה . . . ועיקר מגמתם באשר שנדפס מחדש הזוהר בק"ק זאלקווי בכל יפוי שבעולם לכן בקשו כנ"ל ורוצים להדפיס את פירושו" . . . Ibid. Note Luzzatto's fame at that time even in Poland.

feminine, but all will read the new Psalms of his master, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, which are more masculine."[113] This thing "Rabbi" Solomon Zalman kept secret for five years, waiting for the proper moment "when the destruction of God's enemies would come suddenly."[114] Thus Luzzatto was to be held responsible for an old statement which, even if true, may have been made by Jekutiel of his own volition, and which Luzzatto expressly denies in a letter of 1730. Even Luzzatto's denial of the rumor with regard to the Psalms was used against him by a lawyer's trick, and purposely taken by his accusers as a general denial of the very existence of the Psalms. This was easy to disprove;[115] thus throwing a shadow of suspicion on Luzzatto's general trustworthiness!

To the testimony of the worthy Solomon Zalman that of Rabbi Jacob Belilios was added, as a preamble. According to this witness, a bosom friend of Solomon Zalman's, who was one of the Venetian emissaries in 1730, when Luzzatto was made to sign the first agreement, he, Rabbi Nehemiah Cohen and Bassan—all three of them investigating Luzzatto's case, while in Padua—found in one of his bookcases a manuscript containing cabbalistic formulas to command the angels, among which formulas there were some to command Satan,[116] "so that he becomes your slave

[113] איך בשנת הת"ץ כשבא מפאדובה לכאן הר' יקותיאל פולאקו תלמיד חבר של הר' מח"ל . . . אז באותו פרק סיפר יקותיאל להרב הנזכר בסוד איך רבו מח"ל חיבר ועשה ס' תהלים חדש של ק"ן מזמורים אשר לעתיד בזמן הגאולה יתבטל ההתהילים של דוד המלך ע"ה . . . להיותו מסטרא דנוקבא, וילמדו התהילים החדש של רבו מח"ל שהוא מסטרא דדכורא Ibid.

[114] „ואז הלך הרב כמהרש"ז הנז' והשמיע הדברים בלחישה לאהובו הרב כמוהר"ר יעקב בליליוס נר"ו . . . והם החזיקו הדבר בצנעה עד פתאום יבוא אידם של אויבי ה' " . . . Ibid.

[115] See testimony of Belilios against Luzzatto, Ibid.

[116] „עוד רצה הקב"ה לזכות את ישראל שמצאנו בתיבת מגדלו ספר א' כתיבת יד . . . "מלא השבעות ובכללם השבעות לס"מ קרוב לנוסח זה וז"ל etc. Ibid.

to tell you whatever you demand."[117] The three Rabbis also found in the same place "the destructive instruments necessary for those formulas, namely: A mirror framed in black, a knife with a black handle; and a black wax-candle."[118] All this is categorically denied by Bassan, who is surely more trustworthy than Belilios. Bassan claims these Satan-formulas were nothing more nor less than a "cabbalistic tree," which Belilios, in his foolishness and ignorance, may have mistaken for some magic symbols.[119] Another witness, whose name is given by the Venetian Rabbis as one who confirmed Belilios' testimony, denied that he ever said anything of the kind the Rabbis ascribed to him.[120]

However, the plan worked well. The mediaeval spirit was still alive; and so were the prejudices with regard to witchcraft. No one of the Rabbis in Italy, Germany or Poland doubted the wondrous power of magic, however impure. Once Luzzatto was declared a magician, it was an easy matter to destroy him, his books, and his hold upon the minds of the people. And the Venetian Rabbis did not hesitate to use this murderous weapon against Luzzatto. With such a supply of fuel, furnished by them, Rabbi Ḥagiz's natural heat reached the boiling point, as may be seen from his spirited attack, now directed against both Luzzatto and Bassan, his rage loosed beyond control. . . . "I am not angry—Ḥagiz writes—at the abominable heretic Luzzatto, cursed be he, because he is no more to be considered a Jew and in the world to come he has no longer any

[117] עד שלבסוף יתגלה לך בדמות אדם ויהיה לך כעבד כפוף לגלות לך משאלות לבך . . . etc. Ibid.

[118] ומה גם נמצא שם כלי משחיתו הצריכים לאותם ההשבעות הנ'ל והם מראה מזכוכית . . . והתיק שלה מסביב הוא שחור, גם סכין עם קתא שחורה, וגר שעוה שחור Ibid.

[119] See Document No. 119 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. This cabbalistic tree (אילן הקבלה) is to be found among the MS. letters of Luzzatto.

[120] See Document No. 92 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

share, but I am angry with his teacher and the other scholars, his defenders . . . Those who do not protest against all the works of this abominable heretic Luzzatto, cursed be he, and do not sentence them to be destroyed by burning, are preparing a stumbling block for Israel in the future, because the next time this heretic and others like him may compose a new Pentateuch . . . and then publicly declare this is a new Torah . . ."[121] Ḥagiz suspected that Bassan as well as his late father-in-law, Rabbi Benjamin Cohen,[122] "both of them purposely deceived the great Rabbinate of Venice and the rest of the Rabbis interested by interfering with justice in that they made the "abominable" [Luzzatto] sign a deceitful agreement . . . thus permitting him to go on with his dangerous work."[123] As to Bassan, Ḥagiz declares that "as long as he does not surrender all the works of 'the abominable,' his pupil, to the Venetian Rabbinate unconditionally, "he — Ḥagiz — would object to having anything in common with him (Bassan) in this world or in the world to come, because his pupil deserves to be destroyed by the Rabbis of Israel so as to leave of him neither root nor branch."[124] This letter is characteristic of the temper of the German Rabbis at the time. Religious fanaticism, spurred on by human meanness, demanded its victim.

Very soon the official excommunication of Luzzatto's writings followed, Luzzatto himself being in Amsterdam, out

[121] ולא על התועב פוקר חמ"ל תפח רוחו ונשמתו, אני כועס, לפי שכבר יצא מכלל ישראל ואין לו חלק לעה"ב, אמנם על רבו ועל שאר ת"ח הרוצים להמליץ ולחפות עליו . . . הרי לכל אותם שאינם מוחים ואינם דנים לשריפת אש כל כתיבותיו . . . הרי זה ממחטיאי הרבים ומכשילם לעתיד לבוא, דהנה פוקר זה וכיוצא בו למחר : . . יחבר חמשה חומשים... ויצא וישתבח בעיר כי זו היא . . . תורה חדשה. See Ḥagiz's letter No. 116.

[122] Died 1730.

[123] דשניהם . . . בעצה אחת הלכו לגנוב לבב ב"ד הגדול של ק"ק ויניציאה, ולבב כל . . . "שאר רבני ארץ, ובוידוי מרומה שעשה לפניהם התועב השתיקו את הדבר Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

of their reach. The fifth of the month of Heshvan 5496 (1736) was the day of reckoning of the Venetian Rabbis with Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. On that day the ban against his books was published in Venice, and read the next Sabbath in all the synagogues. The text of the *herem*[125] is too lengthy to be reproduced here; for our purpose it will suffice to say that the document refers to Luzzatto as being "a man of low origin,"[126] who in his arrogance dared to claim nearness "to the Patriarchs, Moses and other saints,"[127] and to compose rival books to the Zohar and to David's Psalms. Jekutiel's statement with regard to the Psalms is expressly ascribed to Luzzatto himself.[128] Also, he dared to teach impure things to a group of his friends. "Now, therefore, it has been decided by the Rabbis of Germany, Poland, Holland and Denmark[129] . . . that no Jew or Jewess should dare help the above-mentioned transgressor[130] to publish any of his books or writings, nor support in any way the wicked company who study his books and writings aforementioned . . . And if anyone does not keep away from them, he shall be likewise excommunicated . . . and all his books and writings, poems and psalms of any kind whatever shall be considered heretical works . . . to be destroyed by fire." The document ends with curses against those who disregard this *herem*. What would have happened to Luzzatto's drama *Migdal Oz* and all his beautiful lyrics,

[125] See Document No. 112 in *Luzzatto's Letters*. Almanzi's date of 5495 (1735) is disproved by his own quotation (Kerem Hemed, III, p. 159, foot note 94).

[126] Ibid. "כי בעיר פאדובה יע"א קם והתעורר איש אחד מקציהם". . .

[127] גבה לבו עד ויאמר אעלה על במתי עב . . . כי שם ישבו כסאות אבות העולם ואדון הנביאים ושאר קדושים אשר בארץ המה" . . . Ibid.

[128] A thing denied by their own evidence discussed in the previous paragraphs.

[129] Whose names are given in the document.

[130] פושע.

had they fallen into the hands of the revengeful Venetian Rabbis![131]

This was the culmination in the persecution of Luzzatto continued in Germany, in the city of Frankfort, where he stopped on his way to Amsterdam. Rabbi Jacob Cohen, chief-rabbi of Frankfort, a great legal mind, had been informed by Ḥagiz of all the details of the Luzzatto case. When visited by the latter—a stranger who came to him with a letter of introduction, seeking his protection—he immediately assembled his tribunal and summoned Luzzatto before it. The self-appointed judges, with authority enough to enforce their decision, confronted the young, inexperienced Moses Hayyim with the "evidence" fabricated by the Venetians and sent to all the Rabbis interested. Luzzatto's mind was at the moment bewildered by the accusations made against him, with regard to the Satan formulas, etc., found at his house, as was claimed in the "testimony," by Belilios, and others, even *Bassan*.[132] This devilish "evidence," showing that his best friend and teacher now turned against him, was too much for Luzzatto's fine spirit. At once Rabbi Jacob Cohen, who seems to have been an excellent tactician, made use of Luzzatto's weakness, speaking to him in a friendly way, showing him the immensity of his "crimes," and the persecutions still in store for him in case he would refuse to "repent." After this Luzzatto was requested to sign an admission that all his previous activities were one continuous mistake, that he violated his oath given to his own teacher, Rabbi Isaiah Bassan (which he

[131] יוסף כהן צדק, in his biography of Luzzatto, prefaced to his edition of Luzzatto's *Logic* (ספר ההגיון), believes there was no *herem* pronounced against Luzzatto at all, claiming the evidence to the contrary was forged. The new letters disprove his argument, unless we interpret the *herem* to have been pronounced against the Books of Luzzatto but not against their author.

[132] N. 101 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

had not), and that he undertook from now on to stop all writing or teaching or publishing anything about Cabbalah. Luzzatto must have presented a sad spectacle that day. He was tired and worn out physically from the long voyage (at that period it was not such an easy matter to travel from Italy to Germany), his heart ached for his beloved ones left behind, and the future was made dark and menacing by the words of the Frankfort chief-rabbi. Though inexperienced in practical life, he had tasted human cruelty enough to fear the worst consequences if he refused to sign. Believing himself the chosen of God, and simultaneously doubting himself, seeing that "Satan now had the upper hand:" he pled with his judges that he could not recall as erroneous, opinions and ideas he sincerely believed to be the truth. They threatened and insisted—finally he broke down and under protest signed in despair.[133] This document, beginning זאת התורה אשר שם משה לפני בני ישראל,[134] is the most tragic in the rare annals of Jewish Inquisition. In the case of Spinoza, he was excommunicated, driven out, ostracized, but not forced to spit upon himself morally. In the case of Maimonides, it was after all books that were burned. Here, a living man, a national genius, was morally degraded, and Luzzatto felt this, breaking his heart over it even after he arrived safely at his destination, and settled peacefully in Amsterdam, as his exclamation full of pain: "צְלוּלָה הָיְתָה הַחָבִית וַעֲכָרוּהָ!",[135] shows amply.

[133] כבר אמרתי להם ראו שאני חותם על שקר כי אני לא בדיתי דבר מלבי מעולם, הם אמרו, לא כי כן תכתוב, אז השיבותי להם, כי אני אכתוב, ומה לי בזה, לא אוסיף ולא אגרע בזה כל מאומה . . . See Luzzatto's reference to this scene in his letter to Bassan from Amsterdam No. 101. Rabbi Jacob Cohen challenged (in letter No. 124) Luzzatto's statement as to his having been forced to sign, claiming no real forcing took place and that Luzzatto signed the document "of his own volition."

[134] Document No. 98b. One loophole was left to him: he could teach Cabbalah to deserving pupils after he and they were 40 years old.

[135] In his letter to Bassan written the same year (1735) from Amsterdam. See Document No. 100.

This inquisitorial act of the Frankfort tribunal did not close the chapter of the Luzzatto persecution. The Venetian worthies, seeing that Luzzatto had escaped their unsatiable vengeance by emigrating to Amsterdam where he was safely beyond their reach, now turned their shafts against his group of young friends, left in Padua, and particularly against Rabbi Isaiah Bassan, his noble defender on all occasions. They feared—at least they so pretended—lest Bassan should send to Amsterdam that famous wooden box, in which Luzzatto's most dangerous writings had been locked since 1730. In order to avoid this supposed danger, they demanded that the box be transported to Venice and delivered to them. Bassan, knowing that this would mean the immediate burning of the manuscripts, refused to accede to the demand. For this he was attacked savagely by the Rabbis, Ḥagiz even going to the extent of writing to Reggio to the leaders of the community, over Rabbi Bassan's head, with regard to the matter.[136] This constituted a breach of rabbinical etiquette, which Bassan resented deeply. When he complained about the trouble in a letter to Luzzatto, the latter replied from Amsterdam:[137] "You do not need my advice, but if this whole trouble is about the box with the books, you may order it taken to your place and burned in your presence. But the God of Vengeance will demand reckoning of those who cause this thing done maliciously with impure hearts." Finally, it was agreed by the parties concerned, as a compromise, to have the box transported to Frankfort and delivered to Rabbi Jacob Cohen, who would give the matter his full attention and then decide what to

[136] Document No. 105.

[137] הנה כ"ת אינו צריך לעצתי אמנם אם בשל תיבת הספרים כל הסער הגדול הזה, יצוה כ"ת ויקחה אצלו וישרפנה לעיניו וכעל גמולות כעל ישלם חימה ונקם למי שגורם לזה ולבו לא הוטהר בכונתו לשמים . . . See Letter No. 110.

do with the manuscripts.[138] The fate of this box has since agitated the minds of all biographers of Luzzatto, as well as many of his subsequent admirers, particularly because Luzzatto's "One Hundred and Fifty Psalms" were known to have been locked up therein with the rest of his cabbalistic writings. A legend even arose of a woman, a widow, in the city of Prague, who had the manuscript of the Psalms in her possession.[139] However, now, after the discovery, among the rest, of a letter by Rabbi Jacob Cohen with regard to this matter, we have authoritative information of the fate that befell the box with its contents.[140] He tells expressly what he did: part of the manuscripts he destroyed, the rest were placed in the box and buried in a secret spot "so damp as to spoil the manuscripts in no time and make them unrecognizable." The burial place was unknown to anyone but to the Rabbi and the two men who executed the sentence. It was only a wooden box and manuscripts, containing mostly cabbalistic speculations, worthless from our modern point of view; still, in reading Rabbi Cohen's letter, we feel as if witnessing another martyrdom suffered by these papers of Luzzatto.

The storm over, Luzzatto now enjoyed some eight or nine years of peace and quiet in the midst of the Amsterdam community. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, prosperous and influential, were able to appreciate Luzzatto's literary powers and poetic genius, a thing the German Jews of Frankfort were unable to do; because the Portuguese Jews

[138] Jost, being led astray by his rationalistic and, therefore, negative relation to Luzzatto, believed that "undoubtedly the box, after having arrived in Frankfort, was transported further to Amsterdam." See Jost, *Die Verfolgung Luzzatto's, Annalen*, 1839, No. 6, p. 44.

[139] Mentioned by Luzzatto's biographer, Abraham Kahan, who even wrote to Prague, he informs us in his book, in fruitless search. Only Zunz seems to have guessed aright. See Isaacs, *A Modern Hebrew Poet*, New York, 1878, p. 19.

[140] See document No. 133.

brought to Holland with them a precious heritage, the literary traditions bequeathed to them by the golden era of Spain, which the German Jews had not experienced. The Amsterdam community received Luzzatto most warmly, notwithstanding incitements on the part of some to cause trouble even there.[141] He was at once appointed professor of the local Rabbinical College,[142] and enabled to bring all his family to Amsterdam. His father, an honorable gentleman and a wealthy man in the past, was treated kindly and cordially by the most prominent members of the community during his stay there.[143] There is a remarkable likeness between the status of Moses Hayyim and his father in Amsterdam and that of the biblical Joseph and his father Jacob in Egypt. Amsterdam was like a dreamland to Luzzatto, the thinker and poet, to whose shore he had been brought by the storm.

Was Luzzatto really happy at this period of his life? There is a sad strain in all his letters written to Bassan at the time. While living in the present, he is still brooding over his past history, which remained an enigma to his own mind. At the end of 1735 he writes to Bassan: . . . "Thank God, all the scholars here come to visit me and assemble in my house whenever they can spare time. They are wondering why I refuse to teach them True Wisdom (Cabbalah). I refuse to do this, not on account of the Frankfort injunction, because all that episode is worth nothing to me. I simply feel disinclined now to teach anyone even one word of it. I therefore did not and do not pronounce even a

[141] אצבע אלקים היא אשר שם בלב כל הקהל הקדוש הזה . . . לחבב אותי חבה יתירה . . . ולא שתו את לבם ולא הטו את אזנם אל כל מעורר מדנים ומחרחר ריב" . . . See Luzzatto's letter to Bassan No. 100, dated 1735.

[142] ומקום בישיבתם נתנו לי ולא כראוי לי כי אם כרוחב טוב לבבם, ונם בידי החזיקו . . . לשבת בארצם אני וביתי בכל דבר, הרבו ולא המעיטו להיטיב עד מאד עד אשר הניעו לשים אותי בראשי ישיבתם ה"י." Ibid. And in Letter No. 101.

[143] After some time, the father returned to Padua, probably for sentimental reasons.

syllable about it. Now then, let your mind be at rest and please do not trouble your noble self by giving much thought to my case, because I know you would not be able to come to a definite conclusion, neither could all the wise men of Israel together clarify this point. It is therefore preferable not to think of it nor discuss it any longer. If the Lord wishes to make the truth known, he will do so; and if not, surely He knows it, and this is enough. And if this thing will not be made known to us in this world, we shall know it in the world to come."[144] In another letter to his excommunicated and much abused pupils in Padua,[145] Luzzatto writes: "My brethren and friends, peace be with you . . . Be strong and courageous . . . Know and see God's purpose in this world which is, that His honor be made known to his servants who should exalt His greatness . . . Study the Zohar diligently . . . Be courageous and purify yourself of all evil attributes, like jealousy, hatred, anger, particularly keep away as far as possible from gossiping and lies . . . As to myself, I am walking here among friends . . . studying the Torah with them, and my heart is turned to God.[146] Remember that this world is the

[144] ומעתה ישקיט הדרת מכ"ת את רעיוניו ואל יטריד לבו הטהור לחשוב בעניני זה, כי ידעתי שלא יוכל לעמוד על בוריו וכל חכמי ישראל יחדיו לא יוכלו לברר הדבר הזה ע"כ יותר ייטב לבלתי חשוב עוד בדבר הזה ולבלתי דבר בו, והיה אם ירצה האדון יחיד להודיע האמת יודיעהו, ואם אין הלא הוא יודעו, ודי בזה, ואם לא ידענוהו בעה"ז נדעהו בעה"ב ותו לא מידי . . . See Letter No. 101.

[145] See No. 111 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[146] By the last phrase Luzzatto probably means the constant preoccupation of his mind with the Cabbalah, a thing he was not forbidden to do by the Frankfort injunction, which he observed, however, as to teaching others. In a letter to Bassan Luzzatto writes: "As to myself, far be it from me to leave it (the Cabbalah) for even one hour. This is like the fable of the fish told to Papus by Rabbi Akiba; so would I not separate myself from this source of life until I die . . . Therefore I have arranged my time for studying as follows: certain hours are devoted to the study of Talmud . . . some hours to reviewing of the laws so as not to forget them, and the rest of my time is given to the Holy Wisdom." See letter No. 115, dated: 1736.

vestibule to the Banquet Hall (the world to come)."[147] We cannot help feeling the solemn sadness of the mature man Luzzatto, whose eyes are already turned in the direction of the world to come, who, not yet 30 years old, is already absorbed in the contemplation of Eternity.

It is at this period of deep contemplation that Luzzatto wrote his ethics called *Messilat Yesharim*,[148] a book which became popular at once, engraving itself on the heart of every pious Jew, thirsting for the word of God. There is nothing new in the ideas expressed by Luzzatto on the subject, although they are arranged in beautiful symmetry and written in a lucid, simple and earnest style. The main thing in this ethical book is the personality of Luzzatto reflected therein in all its purity, moral beauty and sincerity. All the conceits of youth, its rashness and self-confidence, disregard of others and of others' feelings, are vanished; and Luzzatto's soul, after having suffered so much, is reflected as pure and splendid as Nature after a storm.

The same lovable personality, blameless and irreproachable, we find crystallized at this period in a work of art—a drama, called *Layesharim Tehillah*,[149] his only drama since *Migdal Oz*, the production of his youth. In this second work of art,[150] we see how Luzzatto's mind has matured, how subtly he makes use of his own bitter experiences in this world for the purposes of art. *Layesharim Tehillah* is, as a matter of fact, an allegorical drama, in which his own experiences and more mature ideas are incorporated in an objective way. It is more artistically finished than the *Migdal Oz*; its style is more fluent, more lucid, and more

[147] See Almanzi, כרם חמד, III, pp. 166–167. זכרו כי עולם הזה פרוזדור ליכנס לטרקלין . . . See also No. 135 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

[148] "מסלת ישרים," published by the author, Amsterdam, 1740.

[149] "לישרים תהלה," published by the author, Amsterdam, 1743.

[150] His very first drama "מעשה שמשון" could not exactly be thus termed.

flexible. Although from the point of view of temperament, the maturer work in general leaves the reader cold, its wonderful style made his younger contemporaries, the first modern generation of the *Measfim* ("מאספים"), acclaim him at once as a great poet.[151]

Luzzatto also wrote a third treatise, *Derek Tebunot*,[152] a kind of methodological introduction to the Talmud. But all these activities did not satisfy him. Life was too idyllic and Luzzatto still had one dream unrealized in his stormy life: to go to Palestine. Did he hope God would reveal Himself to him on the holy soil, and finally make clear to him the mystery of his own life? Did he continue to dream his Messianic dreams of national salvation? We have no evidence whatever helping us to penetrate his motives. We know only that as early as 1743 he is already in Acco near Tiberias, from which place he writes to his friends in Amsterdam. The letter is addressed to his pupil—the future Hebrew dramatist—David Franco Mendes. In this letter, a very short one, Luzzatto gives no particulars of his life. He only assures them he remembers them and "carries their love engraved in his heart," but must postpone writing more fully until another time "when there will be more leisure and less pressing business."[153] We have no further

[151] Thus overshadowing *Migdal Oz* for about a century. A detailed analysis of the drama, as well as the ethics, will be found in another chapter.

[152] "דרך תבונות," published by the author, Amsterdam, 1742.

[153] As this is the last we hear of him it is given here fully: אהובי ורעי, בחורי חמד אהובים וברורים ולהם שם בגבורים נר"ו, זאת אות אהבה עדות לאשר אהבתכם על לוח לבי כתובה בעט ברזל בצפורן שמיר, אשר על כן לא אחדל מפרוס עליכם שלומותי גם כי מרחוק, אמנם הנה עת קציר העת כי אין הזמן נותן לכל אלומות האגרות אשר צריך אנכי אלם, אך בזמן אחר אשר ירבה הפנאי וימעט העסק אשתדל להאריך ונמצאתי עתה לוה לפרוע לאחר זמן, ואתם כטוב לבכם קבלו את המועט כמרובה והיה זה שלום חלקכם ונחלתכם לאורך ימים אכי"ר. אוהב טהר לב משה חיים לוצאטו. עכו יום א' כ"ב לחדש תמוז תק"ד. A copy of this letter has been forwarded to the writer by the courtesy of Mr. Sigmund Seeligman of Amsterdam, to whom the author is much indebted for his kindness. See No. 136 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

details with regard to his life in the Holy Land, no references to his faithful wife and beloved son who, we know, were with him, no mention of the way the Tiberian community received him. The last years of his life in Palestine are shrouded in a cloud of mystery, like those of the great mediaeval poet, Judah Halevi, who died, according to a legend, with the poem "ציון הלא תשאלי" on his lips. Luzzatto too has left one poem, written before his death, the only one we have of his stay in Palestine. The poem, written in free verse, has never been mentioned by any of his biographers;[154] it is, nevertheless, remarkable in more than one respect. The title is "שִׁיר עַל חַמֵּי טְבֶרְיָה", and the desolation of the Holy Land is thus pictured:

צוֹנָה וַאֲלָפִים לְמַרְבֵּץ לֹא יִנָּהֲלוּ,
שְׁרִיקוֹת הָעֲדָרִים אֵין, קוֹלָם לֹא יִשָּׁמַע,
צִיָּה שְׁאִיָּה וְדוּמִיָּה שָׁלְשָׁתָן שָׁם תִּמְלוֹכְנָה
יוֹשֶׁבֶת עַל מְלֵאת מַמְלָכָת עוֹלָם – –

Of this desolation, the unsanitary state of the land, he and his family soon became victims. The 26th of Iyar 5506 (1746) Moses Hayyim Luzzatto and his family succumbed to the plague. The Rabbis of Tiberias announced his death in the following exalted terms: "Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth, because the chief of rabbis, the divine Cabbalist, the Chariot of Israel and his horsemen, the light of Israel . . . our teacher and master, Rabbi Moses Hayyim Luzzatto died, he and all his family, of the plague . . . and is buried in Tiberias, near Rabbi Akiba's grave. Happy is he, in this world and the world to come, but woe to us, because our crown fell from off our head."[155] The Rabbis

[154] It was published in the *Hamaggid*, 1871, No. 21.

[155] שמעו שמים והאזיני ארץ כי הרב הכולל המקובל האלהי, רכב ישראל ופרשיו, אור שהיה בישראל בוצינא קדישא מרנא ורבנא כמוהר"ר מח"ל נפטר הוא וכל בני ביתו במגפה לפני ה' . . . ונקבר בטבריא אצל רבי עקיבא ע"ה, אשרי חלקו בעה"ז ובעוה"ב ואוי לנו כי נפל עטרת ראשינו. See Ghirondi, כרם חמד, II, pp. 61–62. See also Document No. 138 in *Luzzatto's Letters*.

of Tiberias thus were the unconscious mouth-piece of the whole nation, which felt instinctively after his death what Luzzatto meant to the Jewish people: "The Chariot of Israel and his horsemen," a living force in Israel's history and literature, whose impact is still to be felt in the Hebrew Renaissance of today.

PART II

WORKS OF MOSES HAYYIM LUZZATTO

CHAPTER IV

Cabbalistic and Rabbinic-Philosophical Works

In his personality as well as in his life, there was a continuous struggle of light and shadow going on in the soul of Luzzatto. He was cabbalist and poet, standing between the Middle Ages and the modern period; "belonging, as cabbalist, to the former, as poet to the latter era."[156] But even in the field of Cabbalah not everything is darkness to a modern man; there is an interplay of light and shadow in Cabbalah itself. As a philosophical doctrine, as a cosmological theory reached by way of intuition, Cabbalah has many fine elements fascinating to the mind, captivating to the imagination. It is only when the beautiful theory degenerates into practical Cabbalah, when it tends to become an "empirical science" and to force the higher powers into submission to the human will with the help of cabbalistic formulas, numbers, "Notarikon" and "gematriyaot"—it is only then that the student gets lost in the woods of absurd computations and withered cabbalistic phrases. One pities a man like Luzzatto, to whom these meaningless computations meant everything; they called and lured him all his life, like a Fata Morgana from afar. Many of his cabbalistic writings are dull and difficult to read on account of this worthless stuff.[157] A few of them, however, give us a clear idea of his cabbalistic views; to these we shall turn presently. They are not originally Luzzatto's; neither does he claim them to be. He only uses his remarkable genius to systematize and organize as a whole the various views and ideas

[156] See Dubnow's excellent essay on Luzzatto in the *Voskhod*, 1887, No. 6, page 108.

[157] See, for instance, his treatise, "אדיר במרום," Warsaw, 1886.

already found but dispersed in the old and vast literature of the Cabbalah. He interprets Rabbi Simeon b. Johai, Nahmanides, Isaac Luria and Hayyim Vital, whose names he mentions occasionally in his cabbalistic books.[158] But Luzzatto is not merely a compiler: he is one of the ablest popularizers Cabbalah ever had. He was to the Cabbalah, we may say, what Maimonides was to the talmudic Halakah. Of course at the same time Luzzatto made some additions of his own, particularly in the province of practical Cabbalah. But these contributions are not important nor significant enough to be treated here. So that a statement of Luzzatto's cabbalistic views would really be a statement of cabbalistic theory in general as he interpreted it.

Luzzatto, although well versed in cabbalistic literature, seems to have had no idea of its historical development. He is not at all critical. He accepts, for instance, the traditional view of the *Zohar* being the masterpiece of Rabbi Simeon b. Johai, which was only natural of Luzzatto, the product of his time. He also believes, in conformity with tradition, that Cabbalah is the Jewish national wisdom, as holy and even holier than the Law, more important than any other branch of knowledge in the world. That it was revealed by God Himself to man from times immemorial, has been cherished by our Father Abraham and transmitted from generation to generation in the intimate circles of cabbalists. As was to be expected, Luzzatto had no notion of the foreign influences, particularly Babylonian and Persian during the Babylonian captivity, when it is supposed, Cabbalah began,[159] starting with speculations on the two

[158] Particularly Rabbi Simeon b. Johai, whom he believed to be author of the *Zohar*, and Isaac Luria, whom he admired greatly. To such an extent that, when in Palestine, he chose to reside near the city of Safed, the "home of Cabbalah," where Luria lived and died, like himself, of the plague.

[159] See Franck, *La Kabbale*, Paris, 1892, pp. 266-267, also 292–293.

mystical subjects of "Creation" and "The Chariot of God,"[160] which were suggested by the first chapters of Genesis and Ezekiel respectively. He knows the *Sefer Yezirah*, one of the most important classics in Cabbalah before the Zohar; but has no idea of the Zend Avesta, the Persian book of books and the classic expression of the Zoroaster religion, where many of the cabbalistic ideas are found. Franck says, Cabbalah was not influenced by Greek philosophy, nor by neoplatonism, as some claim,[161] nor by Philo, nor by Christianity, as others believe—although there was no doubt an interchange of ideas on the usual basis of give and take—but originally and essentially by the Zoroastrian philosophy of life. Of course, Jewish minds rejected at once the Zoroastrian belief in the dualism of God and nature.[162] This doctrine was replaced by the idea of the complete and absolute unity of the primary cause and the substance. In the same way Cabbalah in Hebrew literature adapted many of the borrowed foreign ideas, at the same time developing, purifying and Hebraizing them to such an extent that in the writings of Nahmanides or Moses de Leon, the cabbalistic theory seems to be the purest expression of the Jewish spirit. Thus Cabbalah was found by Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, one of the fairest jewels in the Jewish treasury, and so he accepts it to be without further questioning.

What is Cabbalah? This is how Luzzatto defines it in his famous treatise קל"ח פתחי חכמה.[163] "True wisdom proves the truth of religion by explaining everything existing in crea-

[160] "מעשה בראשית" and "מעשה מרכבה."

[161] See Isaacs, *A Modern Hebrew Poet*, New York, 1878, p. 10.

[162] Traces of this struggle of the Jewish mind against a doctrine it could not accept are found in Deutero–Isaiah.

[163] קל"ח פתחי חכמה, Koretz 1785. It presents a lucid and concise statement of cabbalistic theory. The beauty of construction and strictly logical development of the theme reminds one of Spinoza's *Ethics*.

tion, showing how it develops out of the Highest Will and how everything is being led by the one God, blessed be He, in the right way toward absolute perfection, the final stage to be reached at last. The details of this Wisdom explain in full the management of the Cosmos with all its laws and intricacies."[164] This definition covers Cabbalah theoretical and practical. A similar definition is given by Luzzatto in another treatise written in the form of a dialogue between a philosopher and a cabbalist and called חוקר ומקובל.[165] The cabbalist states it as follows: "You should know that the whole subject of Cabbalah is to explain the nature of God, blessed be He, that He is absolutely and truly One, that He is unchangeable and that He has no bodily attributes, far be it from Him." A little later the cabbalist adds: "You know that the wisdom of Cabbalah teaches us . . . the order and laws of the Cosmos-management, showing how God, blessed be He, rules and manages His world in His great wisdom."[166] This knowledge of God and His rule no empirical research work could give, as "whatever man's mind could learn empirically is worth nothing when compared with the immensity of light that Cabbalah could throw on the subject."[167] But although intuitive, Cabbalah differs from Religion in that it presents, to Luzzatto's mind, a branch of pure knowledge rather than a sum total of unfounded beliefs and speculations. "And it is our duty to understand it intelligently, not merely as a matter of

[164] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה the commentary at the opening.

[165] The form of this book shows Luzzatto's acquaintance with Plato. The "חוקר ומקובל" is generally taken as being an attack against Judah Leon De Modena, author of "ארי נוהם." But Freystadt tries to disprove this supposition. See his introduction to חוקר ומקובל, Königsberg, 1840. S., however, document 114a in *Luzzatto's Leetters*. See also below Bibliography, p. 129 No. 10.

[166] See חוקר ומקובל, pp. 5–6.

[167] Ibid., p. 6.

belief, but so as to have our judgment's consent."[168] At once we see Luzzatto, the logical lucid mind, trying to cut a road through the thick woods of "true wisdom," which he succeeds in doing as long as he does not venture into the impassable jungles of practical Cabbalah.

Then Luzzatto proceeds to explain the difference between theoretical and practical Cabbalah, the one as represented by Nahmanides, the other by Isaac Luria. The primary theoretical Cabbalah of Nahmanides treats of the "roots" of the Holy Cabbalistic Tree; of the *En sof* (אין סוף), the Infinite, of the ten *Sephirot*, something like the Platonic Ideas, emanations of Godhead willed by Him,[169] of the four worlds of Emanation, Creation, Formation and Faction,[170] the Macrocosmos,[171] of a general speculative nature. Luria's practical Cabbalah deals not only with the "roots" but with the "branches," the details, of the Holy Tree (אילן קודש) as well.

With his characteristically logical mind, Luzzatto starts the exposition of cabbalistic theory, in his treatise *Hoker Umekubbal*, with two questions; the Philosopher asks: (1) How is it possible that from the *En-Sof*, the infinite, finite creation should be derived? (2) How could evil come out of the great Principle of Good? In answer to these two questions the Cabbalist develops his theory of Emanation. The *En sof* as such is above our understanding, beyond our mind's reach. Cabbalah, therefore, turns away from this holiest ground to the attributes of Godhead—the study of which is permissible—to the ten *Sephirot*. These forms of

[168] חייבים אנו לדעת זאת בידיעה ולא באמונה לבד אלא בדברים המתיישבים על הלב כמו שאמר הכתוב בפירוש והשבות אל לבבך . . . etc.

[169] See חוקר ומקובל, p. 29, edited by Freystadt, Königsberg, 1840. Unlike Spinoza's idea of Godhead, Luzzatto's God has a will and intelligence always active. It is essentially the Jewish idea of Godhead.

[170] ד' עולמות אבי"ע (אצילות, בריאה, יצירה, עשיה).

[171] אדם קדמון.

idea and being are not to be taken as entirely identical with the Divine Being. Because, although immanent in the *Sephirot*, God is Himself more than all of them in their totality. The *Sephirot* are only emanations, each representing a different view of the Infinite, but not exhausting all His attributes.

These *Sephirot* are:[172] *Crown*, identical with the primal will of the *En-sof* and being the first effect of the first cause, with its two parallel principles which are inseparable: Wisdom, active, and Understanding, passive. This first trio form a unity among themselves and are to be considered primary. The rest of the *Sephirot* are secondary. These are: Mercy and Might, which must not be taken in their literal sense, but as symbols for the two principles, active and passive, produced by thought in its above-stated threefold manifestation; in other words: "as symbolical designations for expansion and contraction of the Will; the sum of both, the moral order, appearing as Beauty." Then come Triumph, Glory and Foundation, all three of them representing dynamic nature: the first two standing for increase and for the mother-force of all forces produced in the universe, and the last standing for the reproductive element, the root of all existence. The tenth *Sephirah* is Dominion, "in which the will, the plan, and the active forces become manifest," and which is "the sum of the permanent and immanent activity of all *Sephirot*." These *Sephirot*, says Luzzatto in his other treatise "קל"ח פתחי חכמה," "each higher one carries and conditions the lower one, so that we may picture them one within another like the layers of an onion. . . . The supervision of Crown is furthest and embracing all, Wisdom is included in it and so on up to the end."[173]

[172] Their names in Hebrew: כתר, חכמה, בינה, חסד, גבורה, תפארת, נצח, הוד, יסוד, מלכות.

[173] כל עליונה נושאת וסובלת את התחתונה ממנה, על כן נציירם זה בתוך זה כגלדי

The realm of the *Sephirot* is called "World of Emanation,"[174] or *Adam Kadmon*, the God-man, because the figure of a man is used in symbolic representation of the ten Ideas or Attributes. Says Luzzatto, "As in every particular "face" (פרצוף) there are 613 "lights" secretly hidden in the 613 parts of the human body,[175] so in the universe in general whatever exists makes up in its totality 613 parts of the body of one general Image. Because all worlds, although considered separate, are in truth but organs of this one general Image, their mutual connection and interrelationship forming the secret connection and interrelationship of those organs . . . We may therefore say that all reality is but the image of one man, of whom all creations form the parts of the body."[176] At another place Luzzatto comes back to this favorite cabbalistic symbol, stating it in a different way, as follows: "The roots of God's rulership are to be found, hinted and revealed, in the human body."[177] So far as the God-man symbol is concerned, there can be no objection to its use; on the contrary, there is something fascinating in the idea for the imaginative mind. The trouble is, that in practical Cabbalah we get lost in this symbolism taken as something real and developed into a whole system of the body parts and organs treated in detail, a system so highly technical, intricate and meaningless to the non-cabbalist that its subject-matter becomes almost unreadable. It certainly is not translatable into any other language.

Now, this "World of Emanation," consisting of the ten

בצלים . . . השגחת כתר רחוקה מכולם ומקיפה על כולם, של חכמה בתוכה וכן על דרך זה עד הסוף . . . See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, Koretz, 1785, pp. 24–25.

[174] עולם האצילות.

[175] Their number being equal to the 613 *mizvot* (תרי"ג מצוות) of the Torah. See below, foot-note 191.

[176] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, pp. 23–24.

[177] Ibid., p. 65, "שרשי ההנהגה נרמזת ומתגלית בגוף האדם."

Sephirot, is the highest. "The *Sephirot* are conceived merely as conditions of the finite that is to be . . . their activity begins in the other three lower worlds. These are: the "World of Creation,"[178] e. g., of creative ideas; the "World of Formation,"[179] e. g., of creative formations, and the "World of Fact,"[180] or of creative matter. "Everyone of these three worlds, says Luzzatto, contributes some special part of creation. Namely: the World of Creation gives the souls; of Formation—the angels; of Fact—natural existences . . . And even more: the soul itself comes of these four worlds and there is no perfect soul without these four elements.[181] "Thus the universe forms a large unified whole, a living, undivided being, that consists of three parts enveloping one another successively; and over them soars, as the highest archetypal seal, the world of *Azilut*" (אצילות).

We thus come down to Man. According to the cabbalistic view in general, man is "the sum and the highest product of creation. The very organs of his body are constructed according to the mysteries of the highest wisdom." His soul is threefold, consisting of *Nefesh*, *Ruah* and *Neshamah*.[182] *Nefesh*, says Luzzatto, is the one that feeds the body, that is the animal principle in man; *Ruah*—the one that rises and falls and produces all emotions, that is the moral nature in man; *Neshamah*—the one that has its seat in mind and judges, that is: pure intelligence, the climax of soul-life.[183] After death *Neshamah* ascends to God, *Ruah* enters paradise and *Nefesh* remains in peace on earth. But in the case of

[178] עולם הבריאה.

[179] עולם היצירה.

[180] עולם העשיה.

[181] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, p. 67.

[182] נפש, רוח ונשמה.

[183] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, p. 67. In stating the cabbalistic views in general, I have made use largely, besides the sources indicated here and in the Bibliography, of the Jewish Encyclopedia, Article on "Cabbalah."

the godless, *Neshamah* cannot, until purified, return to its source, neither can *Ruah* enter Eden, nor can *Nefesh* find peace on earth. Says Luzzatto: "There are two ways for *Neshamah* to rehabilitate itself: through transmigration" (that is, beginning all over again in another body, continuing until it has completed its task of perfection) "or through impregnation of souls" (that is, two souls not equal to their tasks to be united in one body, so as to support and complete each other). "How? The aim of *Neshamah* is to complete the 613 *Mizvot.* If it completed them, it may ascend to its resting-place. Otherwise, it has to undergo transmigration. Not all of it, but those parts of it requiring perfection."[184]

Before we proceed further, we have to consider Luzzatto's treatment of the problem of Evil. Where did Evil have its origin? How could Evil be derived from the Highest Being, the source of Good? The Philosopher in *Hoker Umekubbal* asked. To this Luzzatto replies as follows: No doubt there is no dualism in nature, but everything in the universe, whether good or evil, takes its origin from the absolutely one God. "It follows therefrom, that the *Sitra Ahara*[185] is not autonomous, far be it from God, but a subservient slave who has nothing of his own but what has been given to him. It is true, the power given to him is great, but he has no dominating position. There is only One ruler, blessed be He, and blessed be His name forever.[186] In other words: Evil has no being of its own, it is the unreal or the seeming thing. It begins at the boundaries of the divine nature. "That is to say, that evil, at first, had its

[184] תיקוניה של נשמה גלגול ועבור. כיצד? עבודתה של נשמה תרי"ג מצוות, השלימתם עולה למנוחתה, ואם לאו חוזרת ומתגלגלת. לא כולה מתגלגלת, אלא חלקיה הצריכים תיקון . . . See "חוקר ומקובל," p. 27.

[185] סטרא אחרא, the power of evil, which is called the "left" side as being the reverse of the divine "right" side.

[186] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, p. 50.

deep roots even in Crown (כתר), that it came down one degree taking its origin now from Wisdom, then—still lower—from Understanding . . . This shows an improvement in the universe, because evil now belongs to the lower parts, but not to the higher."[187]

In another cabbalistic treatise, called "אדיר במרום," Luzzatto returns to this problem of Evil. "The lower the 'lights' come down, he says, the lower they produce 'branches' and results accordingly. So that finally they reached that degree where concentration of Justice (דין) was strongest. So much so, that a very undesirable 'branch' was produced, and that branch is the 'left side.'"[188] Most interesting is the following, Luzzatto adds: "And know that all this tree (of evil) was derived but from the last of the Holy *Sephirot*, nevertheless it has as many divisions as the Holy Tree. So that the *Sitra Ahara* itself has equally four worlds of Emanation, Creation, Formation and Fact, four worlds of evil. However, its world of Emanation is nearer to the Holy *Sephirot*, the next less near, and so on as to all other degrees."[189]

Here we come to the Doctrine of Interdependence of the ideal world and the terrestrial, the real. The connection between the two is brought about by man, "whose soul belongs to heaven, while his body is earthly." Man can influence the higher regions through the study of the Law, that is the union of man with divine wisdom. It is not only what is revealed in the Torah that counts, but also and in particular its hidden meaning, its true sense. Says Luzzatto of the Torah: "When it enters the soul, light comes with it like the sun rays entering a house. Even more: it is truly

[187] Ibid., p. 81.

[188] ולפי מה שיורדין המאורות כך הם מוציאים ענפים ותולדות לפי ערך אורם שהם מאירים בהדרגה זו וסוף הכל הוא המדרגה שנתגבר בה הצמצום בדין שמרוב דינה הוציאה ענף קשה מאד וזה הענף הוא הס'א. See אדיר במרום, Warsaw, 1886, pp. 108–109.

[189] Ibid., p. 109.

fire-like . . . because all its words and letters are like coals seemingly extinguished, but when anyone begins to work on it, a great many-coloured flame arises from everyone of its letters. That is the knowledge hidden in each letter."[190]

The study of the Torah and the observance of the 613 *mizvot*,[191] then, has a deeper mystical meaning, because the pious soul, while observing the ritual, is so exalted and so desirous of being united with its source, that it agitates the heavenly soul; that is, one of the *Sephirot*. "This stimulus occasions a secret movement among the *Sephirot*," making them "approach more or less to their source until the full bliss of the *En-sof* reaches them, and all the worlds become conscious of a beneficent influence." In the same way "as the good deeds of man exert a beneficent influence on all the worlds, so his evil actions injure them." Because, says Luzzatto, "it is the choice of man which strengthens the holy powers or the Left Side in the world, and it is the purpose of the *mizvot* to give the rulership to holiness and to make the *Sitra Ahara* negligible and powerless."[192]

This brings us to ethics in Cabbalah, which are indeed its highest aim. Since so much of the well-being of the universe depends upon man, it is only fitting that man take cognizance of his great responsibilities in this world. And Luzzatto presents to us, in one of his cabbalistic treatises, the ideal of a holy life. "It is impossible for me to explain everything in writing, because this thing must be trans-

[190] כי כל מליה ואותיותיה כמו גחלת הם אשר . . . לא יראו כי אם גחלים וגם כמעט עמומות, ומי שישתדל לעסוק בה אז תתלהב מכל אות שלהבת גדולה ממולאה בכמה גונים והם הידיעות העומדות צפונות בתוך האות ההיא". . . See Preface to קל"ח פתחי חכמה.

[191] תרי"ג מצוות, their number being equal to the 613 parts of the human body (תרי"ג אברי האדם).

[192] שבחירת האדם היא הנותנת שליטה לקדושה או לס"א בעולם, וכוונת המצוות הם לתת שליטה לקדושה ולהעביר הס"א שלא תשלוט . . . See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, p. 82; also his "מאמר העיקרים": שם הקב"ה כח במעשי האדם לעורר השרשים העליונים ולהמשיך מהם אור שפע קדושתו, ולהפך יוכל להמשיך הטומאה והזוהמא . . . Published as appendix to the book "דֶּרֶךְ חָכְמָה", Amsterdam, 1783.

mitted in personal meetings, therefore I will give you just a few hints. It is a fearful way to follow, although it is at the same time the true way of God . . . Because glowing flame resides there . . . and man must be pure in his deeds. His study must be done exclusively for the purpose of "restoration" of the Shekinah . . . without having any ulterior thought even of purifying himself and his soul.[193] But he must always bear in mind the idea of studying exclusively in order to fulfil the will of God with great love and affection. Particularly should he always bear in mind the fear of God as a crown upon his head, and never should he boast of his purity or good deeds. Neither should he acquire wisdom for the sake of self-aggrandizement . . . but for the sake of the "restoration" of the Shekinah. And when man reaches this ideal stage, he may well know he is a holy man whom God chooses to be one of the visitors of His holy palace."[194] In this idea of the exalted position of the holy man in the world, Luzzatto comes very near the "Zaddik" doctrine of Hassidism.

One thing more, before we leave the province of Cabbalah in the writings of Luzzatto. Man plays the most important part in the process of perfecting the world, which process will be accomplished finally through man's best efforts. "The truth is," says Luzzatto on another occasion, that "for ever and ever the world-wheel turns always to one point, that is the final perfection. Such perfection has never yet been achieved. On the contrary, while turning, it comes sometimes nearer to perfection and sometimes further away from it. And even after it has made a definite turn toward the better, it must return to a worse state of things . . . But final perfection will be achieved with the

[193] Compare with the Regulations of Luzzatto's study-circle. See first chapter above.

[194] See אדיר במרום, p. 27.

coming of the *Geulah* . . . when evil will be turned into good, so that with this final goal reached, there will no longer be any deterioration."[195] This expectancy of salvation does not show Luzzatto as being a firm believer in visionary revolutionary movements. He is rather an evolutionist, as he makes perfectly clear in another treatise. The truth is, according to Luzzatto, that not everything would reach complete perfection with the sudden coming of Messiah: "much will certainly be improved upon at once, while it will take time until all things reach their ideal state of perfection."[196] This belief in evolution is important as being characteristic of Luzzatto, who was essentially a teacher and not a revolutionary by nature and temperament.[197]

We pass now to Luzzatto's ethical treatise *Messilat Yesharim*,[198] written in Amsterdam in the quieter period of his life.[199] It was exactly the time when Luzzatto's genius was most ripe, his judgment most clear, his style most lucid. At that time he created his poetic masterpiece *Layesharim Tehillah*, one of the best classics in modern Hebrew literature; and his ethical masterpiece *Messilat Yesharim*, which was at once accepted by the people as the best book written in the province of ethics since the days of Bahya's *Hobat ha-Lebabot* (חובת הלבבות"). Luzzatto's ethics is particularly distinguished by the strictly logical arrangement of the

[195] See קל"ח פתחי חכמה, p. 45.

[196] See אדיר במרום, p. 110.

[197] Of Luzzatto's many other published and unpublished books on Cabbalah mention must be made of a little pamphlet entitled קנאת ה' צבאות, directed chiefly against the followers of Sabbatai Zevi, Königsberg, 1862.

[198] מ ס ל ת י ש ר י ם, עם העתקה ללשון אשכנז, ממני יוסף וואהלגמוט, ברלין תרס"ו. This seems to be the most up-to-date edition of the work.

[199] At the time he also wrote his methodological introduction to the Talmud *Derek Tebunot*.

subject matter, a trait especially characteristic of the Amsterdam period of Luzzatto's life.[200]

The mediaeval spirit still has a strong foothold in some parts of Luzzatto's ethics. The outlook on life is essentially of the Middle Ages. At the very opening of the book Luzzatto states it to be an axiomatic truth that "man, generally speaking, was not created for the sake of life in this world, but for the sake of life in the world to come."[201] The world to come thus occupies the central position in human life, according to Luzzatto, "because this must be clear to every intelligent person that in the true world, that is the world to come, the various ranks are divided according to men's deeds."[202] From this point of view it is only natural for Luzzatto to eliminate joyfulness from the moods permissible to those seeking the ways of true piety, as "laughing and being playful, by their very nature, turn one's mind away from pious thoughts, and may prevent one altogether from pious moods."[203] So far Luzzatto pays tribute to the Middle Ages, which he partly represents.

However, a more modern spirit pervades the book as a whole. In describing piety, our author denounces all those persons, among them intellectuals, "who still believe piety to depend upon things of naught opposed to common sense and right understanding. These people conceive piety to be exclusively identical with the reading of many prayers, extensive acknowledgment of sins, continuous crying and kneeling and self-inflicted pain to kill oneself, as for instance

[200] See Dr. J. Wohlgemuth, *Einleitung zu "Messilat Yesharim,"* S. XIII.

[201] מסלת ישרים, p. 6. כללו של דבר, האדם לא נברא בעבור מצבו בעולם הזה אלא בעבור מצבו בעולם הבא".

[202] Ibid., p. 12.

[203] כן כל עצמו של השחוק אינו אלא מסיר הלב מן המחשבות הישרות והעיוניות, ונמצא שלא יבואו הרהורי היראה בלבו כלל" . . . Ibid., p. 16.

plunging into snow and ice water."[204] While sharing the old view on the right of the future world to the central position in our consciousness, Luzzatto's outlook on life, as expressed in his *Messilat Yesharim*, nevertheless differs greatly from the extremely pessimistic views expressed in books like Elijah Kohen's "שבט מוסר" or Aaron Kaydonower's "קב הישר." These appeal to the mediaeval fear of Hell. But his appeal is directed to the natural moral feeling in man, showing Luzzatto to be modern to a great extent even in his ethics.

One thing more must be noted with regard to the *Messilat Yesharim*, and that is: the emphatic stress laid by Luzzatto on the great service the holy man renders to the world. "Because the scholars who lead a holy life in all their ways and practices are exactly like a temple or an altar, because the Holy Spirit rests upon them as if resting in a temple."[205] We have pointed out previously the similarity between Luzzatto's teaching and the "Zaddik" doctrine of Hassidism. On the other hand, Luzzatto is serious-minded, while Hassidism allows no "thoughtfulness" (עצבות). In this respect the author of *Messilat Yesharim* comes nearer the outlook on life of the Lithuanian *baale-musar*.[206] This will account for the great popularity of the book both in Poland, where Hassidism spread, and Lithuania, where the *musar*-doctrine flourished.[207]

[204] והנה אלה הבאישו את ריח החסידות בעיני המון האנשים, ומן המשכילים עמהם, באשר כבר יחשבו שהחסידות תלוי בדברי הבל או דברים נגד השכל והדיעה הנכונה, ויאמינו היות כל החסידות תלוי רק באמירת בקשות רבות, וודוים גדולים ובכיות והשתחויות גדולות ובסיגופים הזרים שימית בהם האדם את עצמו, כטבילת הקרח והשלג וכיוצא בדברים האלה" . . . Ibid., p. 50.

[205] כי התלמידי חכמים הקדושים בדרכיהם ובכל מעשיהם הנה הם ממש כמקדש, וכמזבח, מפני שהשכינה שורה עליהם כמו שהיתה שורה במקדש ממש". Ibid., p. 77.

[206] בעלי-מוסר, who frowned on all joviality.

[207] The author of *Messilat Yesharim* was highly complimented by the hassidic Rabbi, the Maggid of Meseritch, as well as by the Lithuanian Gaon of Vilna.

We are coming now to the more important philosophical, methodological and linguistic works of the many-sided Luzzatto. In his "Logic" (ספר הגיון) Luzzatto shows himself well-versed in the province of philosophy, as well as possessor of an excellent scientific style. Whenever possible, he makes use of the Hebrew technical terms, coined by the Ibn-Tibbons and the other mediaeval writers on scientific subjects; whenever necessary, he coins new terms, successfully in most cases.[208]

His already mentioned methodological introduction to the Talmud, entitled *Derek Tebunot*, was of great importance at a time when the pilpulistic-scholastic method prevailed in most of the German as well as Polish Rabbinical colleges. In one of his letters to Bassan from Amsterdam, Luzzatto describes the state of things in the Frankfort school, where 300 students, as he complains, spend their time on nothing but *Pilpul*. And a treatise like *Derek Tebunot* could be greatly beneficial to such students. To this division also belongs his essay, "דרך חכמה" (Amsterdam, 1783), where we find a remarkable program of subject-matter to be covered by "everyone who wants to be a wise man in Israel." The program is as follows: "First, one must know the twenty-four Holy Scriptures with their chief commentaries. Then, the thirteen methods[209] of interpreting the Torah, with all their commentaries, because these are the

[208] Instances of the two types afore mentioned: חָכְמַת הַמַּבָּט for optics, הַלָּצָה rhetoric, רִאשׁוֹנִית primary, מוּשְׁאָל metaphoric, כֵּלְיִי instrumental תוֹכְיִי inherent, מְחֻמָּצַע mediate, לֹא־מְחֻמָּצַע immediate (the last two are new). Such terms, and many more newly coined, of great interest to the student of Luzzatto, the master of Hebrew, as well as to the linguist in general, are to be found everywhere in his writings. The present author hopes to be able to present complete lists of such terms in his more extensive Hebrew work on Luzzatto.

[209] י"ג מדות.

ways of oral law.[210] After this one must study all Talmud in order to understand every halakah clearly . . . Then review all Talmud to get the clear meaning of the *Sugiot*.[211] After this one must learn Maimonides' treatise "יד החזקה" with all its commentaries, so as to know the origin of each law. Then the *Shulhan Aruk*, to see where it differs from Maimonides and what laws have been added . . . Then one should make an exhaustive study of all kinds of ancient Midrashim.[212] Then one should learn logic, rhetoric and elocution, until he knows them well. Next one should learn mathematics and astronomy[213] . . . And all other necessary sciences. Last, one should busy oneself with Cabbalah.[214] One should divide one's time so as to study these subjects all the days of one's life . . ." This ideal program shows the high mark of all-rounded scholarship reached by Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.

This brings us at once to Luzzatto's works on rhetoric and elocution.[215] His treatise on elocution called *Sefer ha-Melizah* (ספר המליצה") is still unpublished and cannot therefore be treated here. This *Sefer ha-Melizah* is complementary to Luzzatto's rhetoric, entitled *Leshon Limmudim* (לשון למודים), of which only the first part has been published. While the rhetoric treats of the selection and proper arrangement of words and phrases, offering stylistic illustrations from the Bible and the Midrash, the *Sefer ha-Melizah*, we are informed,[216] treats of the selection of proper themes for orations and of the various dialectic methods of persuad-

[210] כי הם דרכי תורה שבעל–פה.

[211] ראוי שילמוד כל הש"ס מראשו ועד סופו בהבנת פשוטי הסוגיות על בורין"..

[212] אח"כ ילמוד כל מדרשי הקדמונים עד תומם.

[213] עוד ילמוד עיקרי ההנדסה והחשבורת והתכונה עד שידעם.

[214] באלהות.

[215] It is hardly necessary to dwell on his מאמר על האגדות which is not especially characteristic of Luzzatto.

[216] See N. Brill, *Zur Geschichte der Rhetorischen Literatur bei den Juden*, Ben Chananja, Löw 1863, SS. 568–569.

ing the audience, according to all the laws of elocution.[217] The rhetoric is not the first written in Hebrew,[218] but it is, to be sure, the clearest exposition in Hebrew on the subject, written by a man of great knowledge and rare sense of form and proportion.

Of particular interest in the rhetoric are the stylistic illustrations, written by Luzzatto himself for the occasion. Thus, in speaking of the descriptive form, he makes use of the biblical story of Eli and Samuel, adding some details of his own: "At the voice of God Eli was frightened, his heart turned to stone . . . Samuel, the servant of God, could not pronounce a word; only his painful countenance expressing something of what he felt. Now, hear Eli saying bitterly: It is Yahweh, let him do what is good in his sight."[219] In speaking of the Bible, Luzzatto remarks: "So far I was able to fish out of this tremendous great sea, that is the words of our prophets, the prophets of truth."[220] A little earlier he says of them: "Whoever likes should study their words diligently. Because not once will he read them attentively without learning something worth while, because our Holy Torah is perfect . . . and the language itself is undoubtedly great and holy."[221] It is such seemingly out-of-place remarks in an objective exposition on rhetoric that add interest to the book, and

[217] One selection, in the form of a letter, called מאמר על הדרשה is to be found in כרם חמד VI, 1841, pp. 1–3. The three little pages are distinguished by the logical treatment and lucid style.

[218] See Bibliography.

[219] לשון למודים, Mantua, 1727, p. 44.

[220] "הנה עד כה השיגה ידי ותעלה ממרחבי זה הים הגדול דברי נביאינו, נביאי האמת". Ibid., p. 75.

[221] "ומי חפץ, לבבו יבין ישקוד ויתבונן על דבריהם כי גם פעם אחת לא יתבונן עליהם, אשר לא יעלה בידו מפלאות השכל כי תורתנו הקדושה תורת ה' תמימה . . . והלשון עצמו גדול וקדוש הוא באין ספק" . . . Ibid., pp. 72–73.

that make us feel the poet in Luzzatto even when he writes prose of the driest sort.[222]

Because he was essentially a poet even in his ethics, even in his Cabbalah. He began with poetry—with his drama *Maaseh Shimshon*—and finished with poetry—with the drama *Layesharim Tehillah*. This was his life-work for which he was predestined. But on his fateful way to self-realization, Luzzatto had to pay tribute to the transition-period in which he lived. So he goes to Cabbalah first, he builds a bridge between it and the modern era through his philosophic—aesthetic treatises. When coming to his poetry, we already breathe perfectly modern air. And to this province of the modern spirit we shall now direct our footsteps.

[222] While finishing this chapter, the author was notified by Prof. Marx of the safe arrival of the manuscript of *Leshon Limmudim*, parts II and III from Frankfort, thanks to the courtesy of Prof. A. Freimann. This larger unknown part of *Leshon Limmudim*, together with the part known, forms now one of the volumes of *M. H. Luzzatto's Works*, edited by the present writer, all to be published by Dvir, Tel-Aviv, (so far one volume of Luzzatto's dramas ספר המחוות was published in 1927).

CHAPTER V

Dramas and Lyrical Poems

Luzzatto's dramatic works cannot be understood perfectly without a fair knowledge of conditions prevailing in Italian life and literature at that period. This fact we must always bear in mind: since Hebrew literature lost its contact with the blessed Palestinian soil, no period in our literature can be considered without reference to cultural conditions in non-Jewish lands, by which conditions, positive or negative, Hebrew genius could not help being affected. In the Spanish Arabic period there is a foreign ring even in the poetry of a Judah Halevi. In the modern Haskalah period the Hebrew nihilist-critic, Uri Kovner, only echoes the cry raised by Pissarev in Russian literature. And Moses Hayyim Luzzatto in his best dramatic work imitates to some extent the Italian poet, Giovanni Battista Guarini.

This fact of Luzzatto having imitated Guarini must not be considered disparaging to the literary personality of Luzzatto, and Professor H. L. Fleischer is not altogether fair in his criticism of Luzzatto's *Migdal Oz*, which is to his mind "plagiarism," plain and simple.[223] Prof. Fleischer does not mention the most important fact that Luzzatto the poet was founder of a new movement in Hebrew literature,[224] and as such he did instinctively and rightfully what most founders of new movements in the world of literature do:

[223] See *Repertorium der Gesammten Literatur*, Leipsic 1839, Vol. 19, pp. 140–145.

[224] There were two dramas written during the 17th century: one, *Yesod Olam* (יסוד עולם) by R. Moses Zakuta, the other *Asire ha-Tikvah* (אסירי התקוה) by Joseph Penso. But these were almost unknown, for reasons to be discussed later.

borrow whatever needed from other nations of a higher culture and transplant it into their own national field. Such great borrowers are like bees, carrying the delightful honey from whatever flower they find into their own hive. If such a bee is to be considered a plagiarist, so is Luzzatto.[225]

Had the excess of creative energy in Luzzatto found its inspiration in a golden era of drama, like the Shakespearean in England for instance, there is no telling how suggestive such a period might have been to the dramatic genius of Luzzatto. However, the circumstances in Italian life and literature were such, as to arrest his titanic flight of imagination and to force his nature-loving poetry into more or less artificial forms.

It was at the end of an artificial age in European, not only in Italian, literature, that Luzzatto lived and wrote his dramatic works; thus he proved one of the victims of a world malady. It was a time when Alexander Pope was law-giver in English literature, when Allan Ramsay's pastoral and Samuel Richardson's sentimentalism were already to be considered an improvement, as they brought some freshness into the dull and stagnant atmosphere. In France, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the future prophet of Nature, was a little boy, and Voltaire (1694–1778) was just making his appearance as the future "Pope of Reason." The traditions of pseudo-classicism were still dominant in French literature. And Italy, used to foreign influences, first Spanish, then French, was now almost an exact imitation of France. Italy was copying everything French: in the province of literature, of fashion, even of culinary art.[226]

[225] This is how Luzzatto himself defines plagiarism in his rhetoric: "כי לא יקרא ודאי הדמות, אשר יקח מאמר רעהו בדמותו ובצלמו כהויתו ויטעהו בתוך שלו בין אמריו יצינהו, כי הוא גוזל יקרא ולא מדמה, אבל הדמות יהיה בהדמותו באמת אל המאמר ההוא עד הראות מאמרו חדש." . . . See לשון למודים Mantua, 1727, p. 76.

[226] See Mrs. Vernon, *Italy from 1494 to 1790*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 443–444.

Luzzatto's native land had been too long under the domination of Jesuit educators and church censorship to be able to shake off easily these unfavorable influences. Society was in a dormant state on account of the lack of political freedom and healthy political activity. There was nothing else left for the middle-class but to plunge headlong into a life of pleasure and luxury, without paying attention to moral or spiritual interests, or to the requirements of good taste, there being no stimulus for the development of these higher things. Nothing mattered in society but to keep up appearances, to comply with the official etiquette. Custom was to be followed in religion, in literature, in manners. Artificiality and mediocrity reigned supreme. To such an extent that men of intellect and imagination, who could not permit themselves to be choked in this atmosphere, were forced to become adventurers, of the type of Casanova and of Cagliostro, who found refuge for his stormy spirit in the "black arts" and religious charlatanism.[227] How much higher the Jew of Padua, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto!

It was under such conditions that pastoral poetry, an essentially Italian product,[228] found a favorable soil during the 16th and 17th centuries. It was a type of the so-called "Arcadian" literature; its chief characteristic, artificiality. This poetry was supposed to picture shepherd-life; but it was not real life, it was ornamented nature, as on a stage. In these pastorals we find many elegant highly polished poems with trivial themes; the scenery always presenting, in the taste of the pseudo-classical period, the unavoidable Greek woods and fountains, in whose vicinity shepherds are seen in company of nymphs, gods and goddesses.[229] Poets

[227] Ibid., pp. 446–447.

[228] See J. Demageot, *Histoire des Litteratures Étrangères, Italie-Espagne*, Paris, 1892, pp. 84–86.

[229] Didactic poems on prosaic themes were another literary feature of the times. Thus, there are poems in praise of physics, medicine and

and artists, under the burden of pseudo-classical tradition, stopped listening to the throbbing of their own hearts, to the cry of their own souls.

One of the best representatives of pastoral poetry in Italian literature is Guarini, author of *Pastor Fido* (1590). The history of this pastoral drama will serve as a good illustration of the literary history of that period. Guarini's "Pastor Fido" was written in imitation of Torquato Tasso's simple and melodious pastoral drama *L'Aminta* (1573). Tasso's work became at once so popular that it evoked a flood of imitations in a relatively short time. Professor Etienne counts about 200 pastoral dramas written in the next hundred years under the direct influence of Tasso's *L'Aminta*.[230] Almost all of them are forgotten now, and deservedly; except Guarini's most brilliant imitation, which has survived for its many excellences. This circumstance in itself refutes Professor Fleischer's accusation of Luzzatto's "plagiarism;" because if imitation is synonymous with plagiarism, Guarini himself was a plagiarist in having imitated Tasso.

L'Aminta was written by Tasso under tragic conditions. His love, the love of a poor poet, for the sister of the Prince of Ferrara, could not be given expression openly; so he embodied it in his art. In Italy, in general, "beauty and art were necessary to disguise the tragic poverty of a people separated in little states, conquered by foreign soldiers, oppressed and hopeless."[231] The nation was anxious to

even culinary art. At every occasion of wedding or death whole anthologies were published. See Mrs. Vernon, *Italy from 1494 to 1790*, pp. 448–449. Note that Luzzatto's dramas were also written for wedding-occasions.

[230] See L. Etienne, *Histoire de la Litterature Italienne*, Paris 1884, pp. 437–441.

[231] See Prof. Cesare Faligno, *Epochs of Italian Literature*, Oxford 1920, pp. 26–28. See also Antonio Cippico, *The Romantic Age in Italian Literature*, London 1918, pp. 8–11.

drown the unpleasantness of the miserable present in the golden cup of pleasures, the theater-goers—in the Commedia dell'Arte, whose plays were of cheap quality although all taking place in gilded palaces; the literary readers — in ancient Greek art.[232] So did Torquato Tasso turn away from the tragic present to the shores of ancient Greece. Nevertheless the life of the Ferrara court with all its luxury and pleasures is reflected in this idyllic drama, and the author's own feelings of love unsatisfied cry out of his seemingly objective art. Silvia represents Tasso's beloved. Aminta is the unhappy loving author himself. So far *L'Aminta* is a true expression of the poet's life, of the poet's feelings; a thing which cannot be said of Guarini's *Pastor Fido.*

Guarini, in the main, follows Tasso. The action takes place somewhere in ancient Greece. That is why we find in one of the scenes Tirenio, the blind prophet, and an oracle given much prominence. In the drama the two chief personages, the lovers Mirtilo and Amaryllis, "both of divine origin, are to be united." They are an exact imitation of Tasso's loving couple only with different names substituted, Amaryllis the lady of high rank, Mirtilo the poor shepherd, who loves her, and is ready to die for her dear sake. He is the *Pastor Fido*, the faithful shepherd, who proves at the end to be of equally high rank, the lost son of Montano, the high-priest. But in addition to these chief personages Guarini, unlike Tasso, introduces many others. There is a whole plot developed with complications, episodes and lyrical songs interwoven, so that what was a charming

[232] This will explain why pastoral poetry was so much in vogue in these centuries of political oppression, when the people were seeking in dreamland the idyllic life an unsatisfactory present could not give them.

idyl with Tasso, becomes almost a pastoral tragedy with Guarini. There is Corisco, who also loves Mirtilo and who in her jealousy plots against Amaryllis. By clever manoeuvering she brings about a rendezvous between the lovers, and Amaryllis, caught in Corisco's net, is sentenced to die for her supposed immorality. Mirtilo offers his life for hers, which offer is accepted. But while Montano, the high-priest, is making preparations to kill his human sacrifice, Providence interferes, Montano discovers the youth he was about to kill to be his own son, then comes Tirenio with his interpretation of the oracle mentioned above, and all ends in a very satisfactory manner to those concerned. Amaryllis of course marries Mirtilo. Silvio, who was to be united with Amaryllis, marries instead Dorindo who has loved him all the time. Repentant Corisco asks the forgiveness of Amaryllis, which is granted. And the unavoidable Greek chorus ends with the following lines:

"True joy is a thing
That springs from Virtue after suffering."[233]

There is a grain of moral teaching in Guarini's drama. Life has a moral purpose for man: to be faithful and to do one's duty. But this grain of ethical truth is lost in the atmosphere of luxuriousness and sensuousness. This sensuousness is to be felt even in the soft melodious rhythm of the drama. It is to be felt even in the excellence of its technical polish. While wandering from court to court all over Italy, Guarini polished his masterpiece for more than 20 years.[234] All his heroes speak the same elegant, sometimes too exaggerated, language. The drama, nevertheless, is not

[233] *Il Pastor Fido, The Faithful Shepherd,* English translation by Richard Fanshawe, 1648, pp. 215–216.

[234] Etienne, *Histoire de la Litterature Italienne*, pp. 439–441.

free from some coarse expressions and even scenes. There is nothing elevating about it. In other words, it has some of the faults of Greek drama without having anything of its original force and beauty.

This work of Guarini served as the foundation of Luzzatto's idyllic drama *Migdal Oz*, the first ripe fruit of his dramatic genius.[235] Luzzatto could not very well imitate the only two dramatic works he had before him in Hebrew (Zakuta's *Yesod Olam* and Penso's *Asire ha-Tikvah*), because they were dramas only in name. The first, *Yesod Olam* has dramatis personae,[236] but they do not act, they only talk. There are, no doubt, some ideas expressed in this collection of dialogues; but there is nothing of what we call plot. As to Penso's work, it is more allegorical than dramatic.[237] And as there is nothing brilliant about their style, these two "dramas" left no appreciable impression on the public mind. Except for their historical significance as having preceded the dramatic masterpieces of Luzzatto, they would have been entirely forgotten. This will explain why the young genius turned from the Hebrew to the Italian drama, —to that of Guarini, taking it as his model and source of inspiration.

It was not mere blind chance that led Luzzatto to Guarini. It was the destiny of modern Hebrew literature that required

[235] His first drama on a biblical theme מַעֲשֶׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן, the product of his early youth (discovered and edited by the present writer and published for the first time in 1927), while successfuly portraying Samson and Delilah, is technically weaker as a drama. For detailed analysis see my Introduction to מעשה שמשון, הוצאת דביר, Tel-Aviv, 1927.

[236] These are: תרח ואברהם, נחור ומלכה, הרן, שרה, לוט, אליעזר, נמרוד, עבדיו, חכמיו.

[237] As the very names of the Acting Personages suggest:

(Angel) מלאך	(Mind) שכל	(King) מלך
(Pleasure) תענוג	(Truth) אמת	(Providence) השגחה
(Woman) אשה	(Evil Inclination) יצר	(Satan) שטן

exactly this kind of influence. Mediaeval Hebrew literature, with its scientific, philosophic and linguistic achievements, lacked one most important element: Nature. That great element which pervades all biblical literature, in which you feel as if you are coming in direct contact with Nature itself. In order, then, to open a new page in our national literature a new slogan was needed: back to nature, back to sunshine, back to the joy of life! And exactly this slogan was supplied by Guarini's pastoral, from which it was borrowed by Luzzatto. A wonderful thing happened: the song of nature so insincere, so emasculated in *Pastor Fido*, the model, is changed into a song full of vigour, of elemental force in *Migdal Oz*, the imitation. It is the exuberant energy of a new national youth that sings in this drama.

That is its greatest merit, in that lies its chief significance, making *Migdal Oz* the opening page of modern Hebrew literature. When compared with *Pastor Fido*, its model, Luzzatto's drama is much inferior as to plot-development and to the technical skill displayed by the author. The plot itself, mostly borrowed from Guarini, is rather mutilated in *Migdal Oz*. But how much superior is the work of Luzzatto with regard to atmosphere! There is a moral Jewish atmosphere enveloping us while we read it, something we can not describe, but it is nevertheless real. And after we are through with the reading, we feel that this work of lesser art has elevated us, while Guarini's did not. There is the impress of two different personalities in the two dramas: one, of the pleasure-seeking Italian artist; the other, of the pure-hearted Jewish mystic. The sincerity of the latter is to be felt even in his style, that wonderful style of Luzzatto.

Having made use largely of Guarini's plot, the national instinct suggested to Luzzatto the futility of translating into

Hebrew the Greek mythological atmosphere pervading Guarini's work.[238] Instead he picked out as his medium the world of Hebrew Aggadah. This choice in itself constituted an original step made in the right direction, the direction of national art. The atmosphere of the Hebrew Aggadah at once elevated the whole subject into higher and purer realms.

The plot of the *Migdal Oz* is as follows: In some ancient country, the "land of East," there was a tower on the top of a high inaccessible mountain, and no one could find the path leading toward it and thus reach the entrance to the tower. King Ram (רָם) announced therefore all over the land that whosoever would enter the Tower would get, as a reward, the hand of the beautiful princess Shelomit (שְׁלוֹמִית). Now, one day Shalom, son of the King of Anamim (שָׁלוֹם, בֶּן מלך עֲנָמִים), passed by the mountain and, being attracted by the tower, investigated its surroundings until he found a cave, whose entrance was covered with grass. Behold, after having groped his way through it, he reached the Tower gates. These were disguised with stones, which fell off the gates, as soon as the youth opened them. But he knew nothing of the King's announcement, and his reward was claimed by the impostor Zifa (זיפה),[239] who followed in Shalom's footsteps. The King, much rejoiced by the discovery of the Tower-entrance, was ready to stand by

[238] A thing Samuel Romanelli, another gifted poet and dramatist, did not realize. In his drama *Hakolot Jehdalun* (הקולות יהדלון), published in 1791, Romanelli makes the fatal blunder of using in Hebrew Greek mythological material, without adjusting it to the taste of the Hebrew readers, still undeveloped at the time. That is probably the reason why he, an excellent poet, is almost entirely unknown even to the Hebrew reader of today, who can already appreciate the poetry of a man like Saul Tchernichovski.

[239] Note the fitness of the name "זִיפָה" for exactly this character of a זַיָּף (a forger, an impostor). Luzzatto shows fine taste in the selection of characteristic names for most of his heroes.

his pledge with regard to the princess Shelomit, who meanwhile met Shalom and fell in love with him. But Ada (עָדָה), who also loved Shalom, discovered their secret and in her jealousy of Shelomit, decided to destroy her. Through various intrigues she succeeds, aided unwittingly by her servant and the maid of Shelomit, in bringing about the arraignment of Shelomit before the King on the false accusation of having plotted Zifa's death by sending him poison. Shelomit is sentenced to die in flames, but, while preparations are made for her execution, Shalom hears of the fate awaiting his beloved, hurries to the public place and offers to the King his life for hers. Shelomit refuses to accept this terrible alternative, when Shalom suddenly reminds himself of two verses he found inscribed behind the Tower-gates, opened by him for the first time, and running as follows: "If you dare approach here, the worst in the future you may fear."[240] He at once declares that his visit to the Sacred Tower must have brought this trouble upon him. When asked by the King as to the exact meaning of his exclamation, Shalom tells him everything, the impostor Zifa is forced to admit his guilt, and everything ends well. Shalom marries Shelomit, Ada asks to be forgiven by Shelomit, which the latter readily grants. The drama ends with a wedding-song by the Chorus.

The content of *Migdal Oz*, as outlined here, gives us a pretty definite idea as to the question of how far Luzzatto was indebted to Guarini in this work. We can see at once the similarity between Shalom and Mirtilo, Shelomit and Amaryllis, Ada and Corisco. Even more: Satyr, Corisco's lover, is duplicated in *Migdal Oz* by Eri (עֵרִי), Ada's lover. Many incidents and episodes are almost exactly the same in

[240] "לְקָרוֹב הֲלוֹם יִשְׁאַךְ לִבָּךְ, עָלַי לְשַׁלֵּם לְךָ נְמוּל יָדֶיךָ".

both dramas. Quite often the phrasing itself is similar.[241] The echo-device, which Guarini makes such splendid use of,[242] is taken over, and even improved upon, by Luzzatto.[243] And still the drama as a whole has an atmosphere of its own. The elimination of the Greek mythological element, it is true, cripples to some extent the technical structure of Luzzatto's work, but, in compensation, puts it on a higher moral plane.[244] The author of *Migdal Oz* tries to create a pure Hebrew mythology of his own, some traces of which are to be found in his drama. This attempt of Luzzatto's

[241] Compare for instance the following in both dramas:

1)

עֲדָה (חלק ג' ענין י')

אָנָא עָזוֹב נָא רָגֶל
נַאֲוָה אֲשֶׁר יָנוּס וְיַעֲזָבֶךָ,
וּלְחַיְקְךָ קָרֵב, כְּצֵל הוֹלָכֶת
רַק אַחֲרֶיךָ סֶלָה,
עַלְמָה אֲשֶׁר אַלֶיךָ
שְׁפְחָה לְעוֹלָמִים הֱיוֹת חָפַצָה.

CORISCO

Mirtilo, leave,
Leave this cold hunting after flying feet
And her that runs to thy embraces meet.
(*Pastor Fido The Faithful Shepherd*, translation by Richard Fanshawe, 1648, p. 112.

2)

שָׁלוֹם (חלק ג' ענין א')

רוֹעֶה עֲדָרָיו נַעַר,
מַה טּוֹב מִנָּת חֶלְקוֹ וּמַה נָּעֳמָה!
בֵּין מִכְלְאוֹת צאנוֹ מְנַהֵל יַלְדָּךְ,
הָלוּךְ וְרָץ וְשָׁב, בְּעָנְיוֹ יָגֵל — —
בֵּין צֵאֱלִים יִשְׁכַּב וְהוּא בּוֹטֵחַ,
דַּל הוּא וְאַךְ שָׂמֵחַ.

AMARYLLIS

Happy that shepherdess whom some coarse stuff
Obscurely clothes, yet clean and just enough — —
Poor but content!
Ibid., pp. 66–67.

Such instances, showing both the points of weakness and strength of Luzzatto, are too numerous to be mentioned here.

[242] For instance: Wide air—I dare, my will—I will *Pastor Fido* (English), pp. 153–154.

[243] The echo-words, meaningless in themselves, are collected into one happy phrase, full of prophetic significance.

[244] Guarini, for instance, has this episode: Corisco, intriguing against Amaryllis, tells Mirtilo she is faithless and making love behind his back to another shepherd. And "noble" Mirtilo believes it and plots, in a mood of jealousy, his rival's death. Luzzatto has nothing coarse about שָׁלוֹם who is the Jewish ideal of a noble character.

is very interesting, as it is one of the few instances of direct and favorable influence exerted by Cabbalism on Hebrew poetry. Here is what Shimei (שִׁמְעִי), friend of Shalom, tells in the very first dialogue of the book:

מִיּוֹם תְּהוֹם רַבָּה, אֲשֶׁר מְתַחַת
קְצֵבֵי נְבָעוֹת בָּא, לְקוֹל צוּרֵנוּ
כִּי לַעֲלוֹת צָוָהוּ,
מִסְּבִּיבוֹ עָלָה כְּדוֹב וַיָּתָא
חָפְשִׁי מְשֻׁלָּח אֶל קְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ;
בִּימֵי יְלִידִי לָמָּד
דּוֹר הֲעָשִׁירִי אֶל אֲבִי כָּל נָבָר
שָׁם חוֹק וּמִשְׁפָּט יַחְצְאֵל הַמָּלָךְ,
(רִאשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ בְּאֶרֶץ קֶדֶם,
אַחַר יְבוּשׁ הָאָרֶץ
מֵמֵי תְּהוֹם רַבָּה אֲשֶׁר כִּסּוּהָ)
לִשְׁמוֹר מְאֹד עַל[245] נָפֶשׁ
כָּל נַעֲרָה, בַּל אַחֲרֵי אִרְשָׁה
אֶל אַהֲבַת זָרִים לְבָבָהּ יִפֶן;
כִּי בַּחֲטוֹא אַחַת וְהַטָּמְאָה
בָּלַיל תְּהִי לִפְנֵי בְנֵי עַמֶּיהָ
עַל מוֹקֵדָה, אִם לֹא בְּחַת תַּחְתֶּיהָ
אֶל הֵיקוֹד אַחַר נִדְבָּה נָפֶשׁ.[246]

These instances show clearly how independent of Guarini Luzzatto's creative genius was, even in his early youth, when the *Migdal Oz* was written. In general, we may say, that the chief distinction between the two dramas is the sincerity of Luzzatto as opposed to the artificial tenor in *Pastor Fido*. Particularly the love for nature, real nature, is most con-

[245] In the printed edition (מגדל עז, Königsberg, 1860) there is עד נפש, which is, no doubt, a misprint.

[246] See מגדל עוז, חלק א' ענין א', pp. 7–8. Thus Luzzatto lays down the basis for his own plot-development. Another mythological instance is to be found in Eri's monologue (חלק א' ענין ד', p. 19):

מַהֲרֵי אֵימָה, מְקוֹם שָׁם קִבָּר
מִשְׁקָן לְכָל נִקְשָׁה וְצִבְאוֹת בָּלַע,
אַלְפֵי שְׁעִירִים בּוֹאוּ

etc. See also משה חיים לוצאטו, סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, Tel Aviv, 1927, pp. 71, also 83.

vincing in the forceful lines[247] of Luzzatto, son of the Paduan ghetto, who gives expression simultaneously to the Jewish people's longing for sunshine, to the nation's insatiable hunger for joy of life and song of love; a thing which cannot be said with regard to Luzzatto's model.[248]

There is no telling what an impetus this beautiful idyllic drama might have given to the further healthy development of Hebrew drama, of Hebrew poetry in general, had *Migdal Oz* been published as soon as it was completed. In that case possibly many sad phenomena in subsequent Hebrew literature might have been prevented, the belated pseudo-classic period would not have arrived in Hebrew literature in the form of Kalman Shulmann's empty *Melizah*, and the successive mountain-peaks of modern Hebrew poetry (Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, Micah Joseph Lebensohn and Hayyim-Nachman Bialik) might not have been separated by so great a desert. Unfortunately, the original copy of *Migdal Oz*, written in honor of a son of Bassan's, a dear friend of Luzzatto's, on the occasion of his wedding, was presented to him as a wedding-gift, the young genius thinking very little, it seems, of his literary effort. The modern idea of literature as such did not occupy his mind greatly, absorbed as he was in mysticism. Possibly his friend young Bassan, on his part, did not consider the time ripe for the publication of this work, as its spirit was too radically modern for the contemporary taste. It is also possible the persecution of the author

[247] More about Luzzatto's style will be found in the next chapter.

[248] Compare, for instance, Shalom's famous monologue (p. 41 חלק א' ענין ג'), which all true lovers of Hebrew poetry used to know by heart, with that of Amaryllis (Act II, Scene 5, p. 65).

הוֹי הַרְרֵי עוֹלָם נְעִימֵי שָׁבָת	Dear happy Groves, and you ye solitary
סִתְרֵי נְאוֹת שָׁלוֹם — —	And silent horrors where true peace doth tarry,
מַה יָּקְרוּ לִי אֵלֶּה	With how much joy do I review you!
חֶפְוֹת אֲשֶׁרֵיכֶם מְשִׁיבוֹת נָפֶשׁ!	

interfered with the plans concerning this wonderful production of his youth. Whatever the reasons, the fact is that the original copy has been lost, one copy, fortunately, being left; and *Migdal Oz* was published, and thus made accessible to the Hebrew readers, only a century later.

Unlike this drama, *Layesharim Tehillah*, Luzzatto's last and ripest literary work, which appeared during his lifetime, became at once a favorite with all lovers of Hebrew poetry. For a century, *Layesharim Tehillah* was the most popular of Luzzatto's literary works, exerting potent influence on all subsequent Hebrew literature, an influence positive in many respects and negative in one. The negative side of *Layesharim Tehillah* is the fact of its being an allegorical drama, while *Migdal Oz* is an idyllic drama. This makes the vast distinction between the two.

Here is the content in short: Truth (אֱמֶת) has a son Honest (יוֹשֶׁר), People (הָמוֹן) has a daughter Praise (תְּהִלָּה), so both fathers agree upon the marriage of their children sometime in the future. At the same time Passion (תַּאֲוָה), slave of Truth, has a son Proud (רַהַב), both mother and child living in the house of Truth. One day the army of Confusion (מְבוּכָה) attacked the city, capturing many inhabitants, among them young Honest and Proud. When Truth saw this, he went before the city magistrates and left with them identification marks of his son, which he put on record so as to prevent any possibility of doubt in the future. Soon Truth died. Meanwhile Proud was brought into the house of Imagination (דִּמְיוֹן), where he was educated. There Deceit (תַּרְמִית), friend of Proud, conceived the idea of fooling People by telling him Proud was son of Truth, and therefore the rightful pretendent to the hand of his daughter, Praise. This intrigue is successfully carried out. Meanwhile Honest, who grew up to be a good, handsome boy, though unknown, met fair Praise who fell in love with him. However, her

father People insisted upon carrying out his agreement with Truth, and the wedding-date was set. But at the wedding-party, while the guests were enjoying themselves, there came a sudden thunderbolt and a storm broke down some of the pillars of the house. The guests were all aghast, when one of the old men present at the party arose and, recalling the episode of the identification-marks of the son of Truth, interpreted the storm to signify the displeasure of Providence at a mistake that might possibly have been made with regard to the identity of the bridegroom. An investigation followed which proved Proud to be an impostor. Now Reason (שֵׂכֶל), a friend of Honest, heard of this; he at once took Honest before the investigators, who identified him as the son of Truth. Then Judgment (מִשְׁפָּט) said to People: He is the right man for Praise. And Honest married Praise, the atmosphere was cleared and "all the people were glad and happy."

It is not difficult to see, through the skilful allegory, Luzzatto's presentation of his own life. It is this fact which makes *Layesharim Tehillah* less of an allegory, more of a lyrical drama. Still, the work is mainly of an allegorical character. And possibly it was exactly this deficiency in Luzzatto's masterpiece, from the modern artistic point of view, which endeared him so much to his contemporary readers as well as to the subsequent generations of David Franco-Mendes, Meyer Letteris and Adam Hacohen[249] Lebensohn. In that transition period from the mediaeval to the modern outlook on life perfect art would not do; no one would have had taste enough to appreciate it. There was need of something new, but not too new. The familiar allegorical form, known and liked by the Hebrew readers of all periods, was a fitting vehicle for the modern elements of

[249] אָדָם הַכֹּהֵן.

aesthetic beauty to make their entry into Hebrew literature. The reader enjoyed the ideas expressed in this allegory, ideas all Jewish and highly moral, there being even something in the drama reminding him of the Bible, particularly of the dramatic opening chapter in the Book of Job.[250] And through the medium of the old, he absorbed the new. From this viewpoint, the Genius of History may have acted wisely in having suppressed the more artistic *Migdal Oz* for the time being, allowing *Layesharim Tehillah* to overshadow it, thus paving the way for its surer appreciation in the future.

What are the modern elements in this allegorical drama? They are essentially the same as in *Migdal Oz*: the elements of nature, love and joy of life,[251] and the natural presentation of human passions. With this difference: in *Migdal Oz* these things come in a natural frame of living characters, some of whom (like Ada) are drawn in a way absolutely true to life; in *Layesharim Tehillah* red-blooded human passions are found in an artificial environment of allegorical

[250] In *Layesharim Tehillah* there is still some influence of Guarini (not as much as Abraham Kahan thinks in his *Biography of Luzzatto*, Warsaw, 1899, p. 11), but the biblical influence is to be felt in this drama to a much greater extent.

[251] In his last drama Luzzatto has incorporated many lyrical passages taken from the former, with improvements in the style, which is masterly in *Layesharim Tehillah*, as will be seen from the following comparison:

מגדל עוז (חלק ג' ענין א')	לישרים תהלה (חלק א' ענין א')
שָׁלוֹם. הוֹי הַרְרֵי עוֹלָם נְעִימֵי שָׁבָת,	תְּהִלָּה. הוֹי צַל בְּצוּף מָתוֹק, הוֹי יְבָלֵי מָיִם
סִתְרֵי נְאוֹת שָׁלוֹם, אֲשֶׁר לָבָטַח	מִפְּזֹ יְקָרִים יָחַד,
בָּדָד הֲלוֹם תְּנִבָּהוּ.	הָרֵי מְנוּחָה, כָּל סַלְעֵי מַרְגּוֹעַ
מַה יָקְרוּ לִי אֵלֶּה	הַבּוֹדְדִים שַׁלְוָה וּמְפִיקֵי שָׁקֶט,
חֲפוֹת אֲשַׁרֵיכֶם מְשִׁיבוֹת נָפֶשׁ!	מָה אָבְחֲרָה בָּכֶם כַּמָּה אֲנִילָה
	עַל שִׁיחֲכֶם כִּי שַׁח, עַל עֲנָוֹת דָּשָׁא

See מ. ח. לוצאטו, ספר המחזות, הוצ' "דביר", תל אביב, תרפ"ז, p. 111.

Ibid., p. 214.

Compare his earlier style with that of the Amsterdam period. How superb the latter! The expressions quoted seem to be perfectly biblical, still they are all of Luzzatto's own coinage.

abstractions. At the same time, there is nothing insincere in the utterances of Honest or Praise. Luzzatto was true to himself in everything he wrote. It was these elements, particularly that of nature, that rejuvenated Hebrew literature, and implanted in the Jewish hearts the longing for natural life, that longing which was the basis of the colonization-movement of *Hibat Zion* (חִבַּת צִיּוֹן) and modern Zionism. Because once the Jew had in his heart real sympathy for nature, he found the ideal of that life in the biblical period, the period when the free nation was living peacefully on its own soil. Thus the national idea, later called by Herzl "Judenstaat," came to be. Luzzatto therefore is not only a literary personality, but one of the authors of the Jewish Renaissance. The order of the steps of development is as follows: Moses Hayyim Luzzatto fanned the flame of love for nature. The next step was made by Abraham Mapu; we have in his historical novels ("אַהֲבַת צִיּוֹן" and "אַשְׁמַת שׁוֹמְרוֹן") an ideal picture of life in the ancient land of Israel. Mapu's fiction was one of the chief factors in the awakening of the *Hibat Zion* movement. This is an undisputed fact registered in modern Jewish history.

In addition, there is one more element in *Layesharim Tehillah* not to be found in the dramas of his youth: the scientific spirit. Luzzatto lived in a scientific age, in a new era inaugurated in the first half of the 18th century by men like Buffon and Von Linnaeus and by the various Academies founded all over Europe for the advancement of scientific research.[252] While in Padua, Luzzatto seems, like most Italians of that period, to have taken little interest in science; but in Amsterdam his attitude is changed. The spirit of the time has taken hold of him; and thus, through

[252] In the first half of the 18th century, such Academies were founded in Berlin, Edinburgh, St. Petersburg, Paris and Stockholm. See J. Nichol, *Tables of European History*, Glasgow, 1888.

Luzzatto, the scientific viewpoint was introduced for the first time into Hebrew poetry. We, modern readers, can never imagine how deeply the Hebrew readers in those times were impressed by lines like these, dealing with optics:

שׁוּר נָא קְצֵה מָשׁוֹט אֶל תּוֹךְ הַמָּיִם
הֵן רַק מְעֻוָּת וּמְעֻקָּל תִּרְאֵהוּ
וּלְבָבְךָ יוֹדֵעַ
כִּי בֶאֱמֶת יָשָׁר הִנֵּה הִנֵּהוּ!
שֵׁשִׁי וְתִלְמֵי אַךְ כַּנְּמָלִים תַּרְאֶה
מִתּוֹךְ זְכוּכִית אִם פָּנָיו יִשְׁקָעוּ
וְיִהְיֶה לְהֶפֶךְ אִם רָמוּ נָבָהוּ

(לישרים תהלה, חלק ב' ענין א).[253] In the same way, Contemplation's[254] famous monologue concerning the nature of flowers and their growth[255] is distinguished both by the poetic freshness and scientific exactness of the description. It is a piece of immortal beauty.

No wonder, the drama with all its deficiencies was acclaimed a great work of art. It had new content, and was written in a style unknown in Hebrew literature since the days of Judah Halevi. And the drama, in its turn, called forth many imitations. Shalom Hacohen (שלום הכהן), one of the leading writers in the next *Measfim* period, whose only merit was his fluent style, admits in the preface to his allegorical drama *Amal and Tirzah*, (עָמָל וְתִרְצָה) that he followed in the footsteps of "the classical genius" Luzzatto, "to whom there is no equal since the closing of Prophecy,"[256]

[253] "Look at the end of an oar in the water. Behold it appears to you to be bent and crooked, while in your heart you know, that in reality it is straight. Giants appear like ants in a mirror whose surface is concave, and the reverse is true when the mirror is convex." See English translation by Goldstein-Fischel, New York, 1915, pp. 21–22.

[254] מֶחְקָר מְתֻבּוֹנָד.

[255] See מ. ח. לוצאטו, ספר המחזות, הוצ' "דביר", תל אביב, תרפ"ז, pp. 230–233.

[256] והנה כל קוראי ספרי מליצת עברית יכירו וידעו יקר ערך גדולת הספר "לישרים תהלה" אשר חבר הגאון המופת, המליץ היחיד — — לא קם כמוהו ואין ערוך אליו — — מיום נסתם חזון הנביאים . . . והלכתי אף אני בעקבות הגאון לוצאטו (בדמות מערכות שיריו, ולא בחקף ועז נעימות לשונו ועומק מחשבותיו, כי קטונתי ממנו מאד קטנתי!) ובחרתי רוב גופי המדברים מספר לישרים תהלה, ועוד הוספתי עליהם מדברים חדשים".

and that his own drama was to be considered "like a second part of *Layesharim Tehillah*." Shalom Hacohen's drama is worthless as a piece of creative art; but it is important for the history of the influence Luzzatto exerted upon modern Hebrew literature, in that it was a link in the chain of allegorical dramas created through the impetus given by Luzzatto's *Layesharim Tehillah*.[257] Abraham-Ber Gottlober comes next with his drama *Tiferet Libne Binah*,[258] also written for a wedding, in which he tries with little success to imitate Luzzatto (his meter, his echo-device), which he admits in his preface.[259] Last but not least comes Adam Hacohen Lebensohn, author of the famous allegorical drama "אֱמֶת וֶאֱמוּנָה."[260] Lebensohn, the most representative figure of the Haskalah period, embodied in this drama views of the *maskil* with great force and stylistic beauty. Still, in his answer to a critic, entitled "תּוֹכַחְתִּי לַבְּקָרִים" (pp. 6–7) he admits his indebtedness to Luzzatto. With this indebtedness of Adam Hacohen proven, our main thesis "Moses

[257] Besides עָמָל וְתִרְצָה there is Romanelli's much superior drama הַקּוֹלוֹת יֶחְדָּלוּן (1791), there are many more dramas of almost no literary value. For a full list see יסוד עולם מאת ר' משה זכות בערלינער, מבוא לס', Berlin, 1874. David Franco-Mendes's "נְמוּל עֲתַלְיָה" as well as Efrati's "מְלוּכַת שָׁאוּל," are not to be considered here, these being historical dramas, not allegorical.

[258] אברהם דוב נאטלאבער, תפארת לבני בינה, שיר ידידות, זיטומיר, תרכ"ח.

[259] והלכתי בזה בעקבות אבי כל חופש כנור ועונב הרב החכם הגדול רמח"ל זצ"ל בשני ספריו המסולאים בפז, ס' לישרים תהלה וס' מגדל עוז. ושקלתי את שירי זה בפלס ס' מגדל עוז". Ibid., pp. VI–VII. Like Luzzatto, he also opens the drama with a monologue by Fable:

מָשָׁל אֲנִי, הִנֵּה כְבָר בַּשַּׁעַר
נוֹדַע שְׁמִי, זִכְרִי בְּפִי כָּל נָבָר.
עוֹד יִזְכְּרוּ קוֹרְאֵי דְבָרַי אֵלֶּה
מִלִּים אֲשֶׁר שַׂמְתִּי בְּפִי לוּצַאטוּ——

Ibid., p. 1.

[260] Malbim's "מָשָׁל וּמְלִיצָה" directed against Haskalah, is another imitation of Luzzatto.

Hayyim Luzzatto—founder of modern Hebrew literature" is proven as well.[261] Because in Adam Hacohen we have the connecting link between Luzzatto and our most modern literature.

Something more must be said here with regard to the lyrical poems of Luzzatto. As a matter of fact, his dramas themselves contain many excellent lyrical elements of striking beauty. What are those famous monologues of Shalom in *Migdal Oz* and of Contemplation in *Layesharim Tehillah* if not lyrical gems? However, Luzzatto has left a small collection of lyrical poems, *Gelegenheitsgedichte*, in which he is absolutely modern both in content and style. These poems were written on various occasions, sad and joyous, such as: weddings, graduation, death. A few of Luzzatto's first *Psalms* were written for the occasion of the dedication of a new Sephardic synagogue in Padua.[262] And the very first sonnet he wrote when sixteen years old (in 1723) was composed in honor of a friend's graduation from the University of Padua.[263] This was the custom of the land in that period to write odes and sonnets in honor of every petty occurrence, and to print them on special leaflets with various ornaments. This custom was adopted by many of the more intellectual Italian Jews. Professor David Kaufmann made a collection of such sonnets. Most

[261] In view of all the preceding evidence, we certainly cannot accept Dr. Klausner's classification, according to which Luzzatto belongs to the Cabbalah period, while modern Hebrew literature starts with the *Measfim*. See his קורות הספרות העברית החדשה, pp. 1–2.

[262] This collection of Psalms, entitled "חֲנוּכַּת הָאָרוֹן," Venice, 1729, is to be found in the British Museum. It is incorporated now in the סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים, one of the volumes in the new edition of *Moses Hayyim Luzzatto's Works*, edited by the present writer and being published by Dvir, Tel Aviv, Palestine.

[263] „יום הוכתר בכתר הפילוסופיאה והרפואה בחור מעם סגולה החכם הרופא כמר אליהו בן הגביר שמואל קונצילייי יצ'ו". See D. Kaufmann's article, *Revue des Études Juives*, Vol. 39, pp. 135–136.

poems of this kind, of course, are worthless from the viewpoint of literary criticism. Luzzatto's lyrics, however, form a category of their own. They are distinguished by the same directness and sincerity that characterize all Luzzatto's writings. Some of these lyrics strike us as being even superior to those of Metastasio, Luzzatto's contemporary (1698–1782) and most talented representative of Italian lyric poetry of the period.[264]

Luzzatto's most important lyrics are: his *Lamentations* on the death of his teacher Cantarini, of the cabbalist Rabbi Benjamin Cohen,[265] of the young "Raphael son of R. Jacob Shalom," of R. Menashe Hefez (ר' מנשה חפץ)[266] and of "Menahem Raphael Cracovie, Venetian Rabbi." Besides these dirges he has some exquisite poems written for joyous occasions, among which his ode "יָם וְיַבָּשָׁה"[267] is the

[264] See Mrs. *Vernon, Italy from 1494 to 1790*, Cambridge 1909, p. 450. S. D. Luzzatto has translated some of his lyrics into Hebrew. David Franco-Mendes, pupil of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, author-translator of the historical drama "גְּמוּל עֲתַלְיָה," took Racine and Metastasio as his models.

[265] Beginning:

אֵלִי חַבֵּל וְעָרֶיהָ — אֵלִי עַמָּה וְשָׂרֶיהָ
בְּיוֹם צָרָה כְּמַבְכִּירָה — כְּאוֹב תְּתֵּן אֲמָרֶיהָ
עֲלֵי מָאוֹר אֲשֶׁר חָשַׁךְ — בְּיוֹם עָבְרַת שָׁבָרֶיהָ
וְעַל אֹרֶן אֲשֶׁר לָקַח — הֲדַר חָמְדַּת כְּתָרֶיהָ

It is his only poem written in the meter of Spanish-Hebrew poetry. It makes a strong impression by its monody-style.

[266] Distinguished by its free flow and lack of metrical chains of the מִשְׁקַל הַיִּתְדּוֹת.

[267] Written in honour of Isaac *Marini* wed to Judith *Italia*. A play on their names suggests to the poet the idea of a dispute held between Sea (=Mare) and Dryland (=Italia) as to which of the two was superior to the other, until Cupid (חֶשֶׁק) shot his arrows,

עַד כִּי לְחוֹף יַמִּים אַחִים נַם יָחַד
אֶרֶץ וְיָם נָשָׁקוּ.

To be found under name of שִׁיר הִלּוּלִים לַחֲתוּנַת יִצְחָק בֶּן שַׁבְּתַי מַארִיגִי in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים. See above foot note 262. In the Introduction to the סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים the reader will find a detailed analysis of Luzzatto's lyrical poems.

most important. His Palestinian poem שִׁיר עַל חַמֵּי טְבֶרְיָה, mentioned in a previous chapter, is a type by itself. It contains a graphic picture of the desolation reigning everywhere, a mineralogical description of the spring of Tiberias, distinguished by almost scientific exactness, and draws a parallel between the healing mineral waters of Tiberias, emerging from the soil after having overcome many obstacles, and the people of Israel who will likewise emerge victorious from their trials. We cannot help substituting Luzzatto himself for Israel, thus reading between the lines Luzzatto's own feelings while contemplating the Palestinian landscape and his own past life.

These lyrical poems of Luzzatto have influenced modern Hebrew poetry to a great extent. We ourselves do not realize how much our lyrical poets, beginning with Adam Hacohen and ending with Jacob Fichmann, owe, directly and indirectly, to the Luzzatto spirit and the Luzzatto style. His forceful poetry was to our modern literature what iron is to our blood. There must be great and marvelous possibilities still awaiting realization in a literature, whose genealogy opens with a giant like Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.

CHAPTER VI

Meter and Style

We have seen Luzzatto moving out of the pale of the Middle Ages into the province of modern emancipated man. So much for his content. The same could be said with equal justice with regard to the meter and style of his writings.

Luzzatto paid some tribute, at first, to the traditional meter of the Spanish-Arabic period, the meter of Gabirol and Judah Halevi, so difficult and so foreign to the genius of the Hebrew language.[268] It is this Arabic meter which is particularly responsible for the lack of perfect harmony in the great poetry of that period, there being an inherent conflict between the Jewish spirit of the content and the Arabic genius as expressed in the form. But while being under the influence of the Arabic meter, Luzzatto drops from the very first all the unnecessary complex rules of Arabic versification, which make the task of any poet, talented but not a genius, truly Herculean. Thus we find Luzzatto fulfilling his mission, the mission of a genius living in a transition period, in the field of poetic form as well as of poetic content. By simplifying Hebrew versification,[269] Luzzatto set Hebrew poetry free of the shackles of mediaeval meter, thus paving the way for Naphtali Herz Wessely, author of the epic *Shire Tiferet* (שירי תפארת),

[268] As, for instance, in his dirge קִינָה עַל מוֹת ר' בִּנְיָמִין הַכֹּהֵן referred to in the previous chapter.

[269] A thing tried by some of Luzzatto's predecessors, who, however, did not succeed in it, their poetry being of insufficient weight to impress the public mind. This reform could be introduced only by a man of undoubted genius like Luzzatto.

famous for the naturalness and ease of its style more than for anything else. Wessely drops even the rime, using it only in his preludes to the different parts of his epic; and of all rules of versification he leaves only that of an equal number of vowels in each line. This freedom of form is not to be treated lightly; it is the necessary accompaniment of free spirits, and that is why mediaeval minds accepted most artificial meters without question, while Luzzatto instinctively revolted against these fetters.

Of course, he did not dare as yet to drop the Spanish-Arabic meter altogether. Both dramas, *Migdal Oz* and *Layesharim Tehillah*, still have each metrical line starting with "two vowels and a yated,"[270] this rule being scrupulously observed according to the taste of the Spanish-Arabic period. But this exhausts the similarity between Luzzatto's meter and Gabirol's. As for all the rest, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto is under the influence of the musical Italian tonic meter, which he introduced into Hebrew poetry.[271] He was under Italian influence, particularly in his youth, to such an extent that in *Migdal Oz* we find a number of passages whose syntactic construction is more Italian than Hebrew, a thing which makes them sometimes unpalatable to the Hebrew reader. This is one of the few deficiencies of the otherwise excellent idyllic drama. In *Layesharim Tehillah*, however, nothing of the kind mars the exquisite beauty and vigour of the style, which Luzzatto now masters perfectly. In the latter drama the genius of the Hebrew language finds its expression so as to remind us of the forceful style of the Bible, with the Spanish-Arabic and Italian influences subservient to it and not out of place as artistic ornaments.

The biblical influence, as should be expected in a case

[270] שְׁתֵּי תְנוּעוֹת וְיֶתֶד. For examples see previous chapter.

[271] See, for instance, his sonnets. The form of sonnet he uses is mostly petrarchan.

like this, is greatest in the poetical works of Luzzatto. We have seen already how Luzzatto imitated the biblical style blindly in his *Psalms*, most of which are lost. The scene of the storm in *Layesharim Tehillah* was probably written under the direct influence of the first chapter in the book of Job. The breath of the book of Job is to be felt as well in some parts of Luzzatto's earlier work *Migdal Oz*. However, with the ripening of his poetic genius, we notice a remarkable thing: Luzzatto's style becomes almost perfectly biblical, in the sense that it possesses the charm, directness and vigor of the biblical prophetic style. He is, however, at the same time emancipated from the Bible in the sense that he is not simply a slavish imitator, like the subsequent writers of the *Melizah* period, like Kalman Shulmann, for instance. The whole *Layesharim Tehillah* is written in a grand style, the construction of each phrase is purely biblical, fashioned according to a biblical model; still not one phrase in the drama is taken from the Bible directly. In this respect, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto stands out most conspicuously as one of the greatest Hebrew stylists. His diction has to the Hebrew ear something like the Shakespearean ring to the English.[272]

The more his poetical genius ripened, the nearer Luzzatto came to the very essence of the original Hebrew rhythm, loosed of all metrical shackles, true only to the principle of parallelism, so natural to the prophetic utterances. Already in his *Lamentation on the death of R. Menashe Hefez*,[273] Luzzatto breaks loose from the Spanish-Arabic meter in

[272] Another characteristic of Luzzatto is the very limited use he makes of artificial forms and devices like assonances or the Echo-imitation. Whenever necessary, he uses them masterfully and effectively; but he has too much temperament, and elemental passion, to use these artistic devices too often.

[273] קינה על מות . . . כמוהר"ר מנשה חפץ. *Israelitishe Letterbode*. VIII Amsterdam, 1882–1883, pp. 58–59.

dropping the rule of "two vowels and a yated" and in lengthening and shortening his lines according to the requirements of the poet's more or less stormy feelings. This *Drang* of Luzzatto for the free expression of his emotions is to be felt also in his *Lamentation on the death of young Raphael son of R. Jacob Shalom.* But it is in Palestine, under the sun that saw the prophets, that Luzzatto throws off all yokes of Greek art. His *Poem on the hot springs of Tiberias* is as free, as artless and as natural as the eagle-cry that may have echoed Luzzatto's words from the distant mountains. In it Luzzatto, who stands at the beginning of modern Hebrew poetry, comes back to the original biblical rhythm, as Bialik, the modern poet, comes back to it in many of his poems of recent date.

This shows how great Luzzatto's insight was, how unerring his national instinct. Genius and fine stylist, he was more than a hundred years ahead of his time. Unlike his successors, unlike Wessely and his followers up to Adam Hacohen, who, in their blind imitation of the Bible, disregarded the talmudic elements in the Hebrew language, refusing them admittance into literature, even in their prose, Luzzatto does not hesitate to use a whole talmudic expression in one of his earliest sonnets![274] Because he

[274] In his sonnet in honour of the graduation of "Master Elijah son of Hon. Samuel de Consigli." It ends as follows:

לֹא כֵן יָדִידִי, כִּי פְאֵר חֲבַשְׁתָּ
וּשְׁדֵה תְרוּמוֹת הוּא שְׂדֵה שִׂכְלֶךָ,
חָכְמָה וְדַעַת בּוֹ קְצִיץ שָׁקָנָה.

מָחָקָר וּמֵרַפָּא כְּמְעִיל לָבַשְׁתָּ
חָכְמוֹת בְּחוּצוֹת יִקְרָאוּ עָלֶיךָ:
כָּל דִּין וְכָל מִן דַּיִן סָמוֹכוּ לָנָא

Only Judah Leib Gordon, famous poet of the Haskalah period, excelled in such daring combinations of the biblical and talmudic elements in poetry. But Luzzatto was first. And he lived many years before Gordon.

understood Hebrew to be, like any other language, a medium of expression gradually evolved from the national consciousness, developed and improved upon from generation to generation; he understood how impossible it was for the Hebrew language to omit as non-existent any period in the history of its development. This neglect of the talmudic elements came later as a result of the negative relation of the *Haskalah* to the Talmud in general. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, the positive embodiment of our national genius, never took this stand.

The talmudic elements are particularly frequent in Luzzatto's prose-writings. In all his philosophical and linguistic works, as well as in the greater part of his published cabbalistic writings, Luzzatto uses, unlike any of his immediate predecessors or contemporaries, a pure Hebrew style, in which the biblical and talmudic elements are naturally and symmetrically interwoven, a style which may be considered the quintessence of all periods of development of the Hebrew language up to Luzzatto's own time. Even in his letters we are sometimes struck by the wonderful synthesis of the various elements in his style. He knew the secret unknown to some of our best modern classics, unknown in its entirety even to J. L. Gordon, even to Mendele. At the present time only Bialik is master of this secret. Again Luzzatto and Bialik, two master-spirits, meet, although divided by two centuries of literary development.

It is very interesting to read Luzzatto's letters with those of his contemporaries written in the same period. Like a picture in a frame, the most characteristic features of Luzzatto's style become immediately conspicuous and clear. At once we can see for ourselves the great mission fulfilled by Luzzatto in the province of Hebrew prose. This mission was: to create an exact, concise and simple style as the

medium of expression of the modern Jew. Luzzatto never was conscious of it himself; he did it unwittingly, as if "by the way," and thus prepared the ground for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language by Ben-Yehudah at the end of the nineteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Works of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto

I. *Published*

1) קל"ח פְּתָחַי חָכְמָה,

Introduction to Cabbalah in the form of 138 short rules with Commentary:

Koretz, 1785, 8°.

Krakau, 1830, 8°. *

Chernovitz, 1848, 8°.

Johannesburg n.d. 8°.

Krakau, 1880, 8°. *

*Together with דֶּרֶךְ חָכְמָה and מַאֲמָר עַל הָאַגָּדוֹת under name of שְׁלֹשָׁה סְפָרִים נִפְתָּחִים.

Note.—Original MS. in possession of Columbia University Library under No. X893 L97.

2) פְּתָחַי חָכְמָה וָדַעַת,

הוא חלק שני מהס' הנ"ל . . . Second part of the previous, pub. by Samuel Luhin, Warsaw, 1884, 37pp.

3) דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים,

הקדמה לספר „קל"ח פתחי חכמה" המיוסד על ספר „עץ חיים" לרבי חיים ויטאל, Introduction to the treatise "קל"ח פתחי חכמה," published in several editions (see below No. 10) together with the מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים at the end; by הוֹצָאַת טַרְקְלִין, Warsaw, 1926, 20pp., 16°.

4) חוֹקֵר וּמְקַבֵּל,

Philosopher and Cabbalist, in dialogue form, explaining principles of Cabbalah. Introduction is followed by 10 chapters, containing short mishnot, like *Sefer Yezirah.* Then dialogue is continued, followed again by 20 chapters. It is mainly an exposition of the theories of Nahmanides and Isaac Luria. Published in incomplete form:

Sklov, 1784, 8°.

Lemberg, 1800, 8°.

Lemberg, 1810, 8°.

Zolkiew, 1810, 8°.

Published in complete form by M. S. Freystadt:

Königsberg, 1840, 8°.

5) אַדִּיר בַּמָּרוֹם,

באור על האדרא רבא, commentary on part of the Zohar called אדרא, edited by J. Luria: (בסופו תקונים והשמטות לספר „פתחי חכמה ודעת", שהוא כמפתח לשרשי הדברים המתבארים בס' אדיר במרום) Warsaw, 1886, 214 pp., 8°.

6) דֶּרֶךְ חָכְמָה,

שיחה בין רב ותלמיד על תכלית האדם, contains philosophical observations, advises how to study wisdom. Together with it the following essays are published: 1) מַאֲמָר עַל הָאַגָּדוֹת, Introduction to the Aggadah; 2) מַאֲמַר הָעִיקָרִים, dealing with such matters as Prophecy, Providence, Paradise and Inferno; 3) אוֹר הַגָּנוּז, מַאֲמַר הַחָכְמָה (also published separately:

Amsterdam, 1783

Amsterdam, 1785

Amsterdam, 1788.

Lodz, 1913)

concerning matters miscellaneous, such as Rosh-Hashanah prayer, transmigration of souls, Passover seder night, and the ten *sephirot*. From a manuscript in the possession of David Franco Mendes (who writes in a brief prefatory note -- משה זכה וזיכה את הרבים טוב לי כי זכיתי ליצוק מים על ידיו, adding a 6 line stanza in Luzzatto's honor), published by Bezalel Benjamin Hacohen:

Amsterdam, 1783, 16°.

Zolkiew, 1799, 8°.

Sdilikow, 1833, 8°.

Note.—Of these the first two: דֶּרֶךְ חָכְמָה and מַאֲמַר עַל הָאַגָּדוֹת were published together with קל"ח פִּתְחֵי חָכְמָה under name of שְׁלֹשָׁה נִסְפָּרִים נִפְתָּחִים by Abraham Leinzeig:

Krakau, 1830, 114 pp., 8°.

Krakau, 1880.

7) דַּעַת תְּבוּנוֹת,

called מַאֲמַר הַוִּיכּוּחַ בֵּין הַשֵּׂכֶל וְהַנְּשָׁמָה, Intellect and Soul discussing articles of religion, with preface by מרדכי שמואל גירונדי and 2 letters by Luzzatto, 76 pp., addenda: מַאֲמַר הַגְּאֻלָּה, 24 pp., תְּפִלָּה בְּלֵיל פֶּסַח and שִׁיר לְלֵיל הַפֶּסַח with cabbalistic commentary, pp. 25–32 and פֵּרוּשׁ עַל פִּיּוּטֵי רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה וְיוֹם כִּפּוּר עַל דֶּרֶךְ הַסּוֹד, pp. 33–36:

Warsaw, 1889.

Warsaw, 1891 (pub. by J. Luria).

8) קִנְאַת ה' צְבָאוֹת,

written by Luzzatto in 1730, directed against the followers of Sabbatai Zevi:

Königsberg, 1862, VIII+32 pp.

9) מְגִלַּת סְתָרִים,

פירושים על תנ"ך בדרך הנסתר, exposition of biblical verses in the cabbalistic spirit, published together with רָזִין גְּנוּזִין by I. H. Trevis (ר' יִשְׂרָאֵל חִזְקִיָּה טְרִיוִיס) and שִׁבְעִים פָּנִים by D. M. Vali (ר' דָּוִד מֹשֶׁה וַאלִי), both friends and disciples of Luzzatto's:

Warsaw, 1889.

10) מִלְחֶמֶת מֹשֶׁה,

וִיכּוּחַ נֶגֶד ס' אַרְי נוֹהֵם (so listed in Zedner Catalogue, according to which this is Luzzatto's famous treatise refuting de Modena's attack on Cabbalah. In another catalogue listed simply as "Commentary on the Pentateuch"). Appended to it are כְּלָלֵי חָכְמַת הָאֱמֶת (Principles of Cabbalah); pub. by Samuel Luria (שמואל ב' אליעזר אהרן לוריא):

Warsaw, 1889, XIV+27 pp., 8°.

11) מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים

ethics, based on the maxim of Rabbi Pinhas b. Jair תּוֹרָה מְבִיאָה לִידֵי זְהִירוּת etc., consists of 26 chapters. Pub. by the author:

Amsterdam. 1740, 8°.

Zolkiew, 1766.

Mantua, 1781, 8°, 49 pp.

Sklov, 1784 — 45 pp.

Grodno, 1792.

Luneville, 1806.

Zolkiew, 1808.

Porieck, 1817 — 34 pp.

Sklov, 1834.

Yosefow, 1835 — 35 pp.

Warsaw, 1841.

Warsaw, 1844.

Vilna, 1844.

Leipsic, 1846, 8°.

Zitomir, 1847.

Warsaw, 1852.

Warsaw, 1855 (with Yiddish translation).

Königsberg, 1857.

Lyck, 1858.

Lemberg, 1858, 8° and 12° (some editions having as an appendix the author's preface to קל"ח פְּתָחֵי חָכְמָה on the duty of studying cabbalah, entitled דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים).

Königsberg, 1858, 8° (with addenda: אִגֶּרֶת הַמּוּסָר לְר' יִשְׂרָאֵל סַאלַאנְטֶער).

Vilna, 1875 (with Yiddish translation), 192 pp.

Warsaw, 1876.

Warsaw, 1884, 80 pp. (with addenda: אִגֶּרֶת מוּסָר לָרַמְב"ן, אִגֶּרֶת הַגְּרַ"א וּמַאַדְמוֹ"ר יִשְׂרָאֵל סַאלַאנְטֶער).

Warsaw, (pub. by Bros. Levin-Epstein with above addenda, also the addition of דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ חַיִּים, 10 pp).

Berlin, 1906
Frankfort a. M., 1925 } (with German translation and introduction by Dr. J. Wohlgemuth), XXXIII+210 pp.

Frankfort a.M., 1907 (with German translation and a few poems of Luzzatto's appended, entitled שִׁירִים נִסְפָּחִים).

Berlin, 1927 (pub. by B. Kahan).

12) דֶּרֶךְ ה',

remarkable treatise in lucid Hebrew, never mentioned by Luzzatto's biographers; published by A. L. Shapiro (אריה ליב שפירא), who

found the MS. in the private library of D. Montasinus (מצאתיו „באוצר הספרים של הרב הגניד מוהר"ר דוד בכמוהר"ר רפאל מאנטאזינוס").

The treatise is in 4 parts, its list of contents as follows:

Part I—in 5 chapters (בבורא יתברך, בתכלית הבריאה, במין האנושי, במצב האדם בעוה"ז, בחלקי הבריאה ומיחסיהם).

Part II—in 8 chapters (בענין השגחתו בכלל, בעיקרי המין האנושי בעוה"ז, בהשגחה האישית, בענין ישראל ואומות העולם, באופן ההשגחה, בסדר ההשגחה, בענין השפעת הכוכבים, בהבחנת פרטיות בהשגחה).

Part III—in 5 chapters (בענין הנפש ופעולותיה, בענין הפעולה בשמות ובכישוף, בענין הרוה"ק והנבואה, במקרי הנבואה, בהבדל שבין כל הנביאים למשה רבנו ע"ה).

Part IV—in 9 chapters (בחלקי העבודה, בתלמוד תורה, באהבה ויראה, בקריאת שמע וברכותיה, בתפלה, בסדרי התפלה, בעבודה הזמניות, במצות הזמנים, בברכות).

Amsterdam, 1896, 99 pp.

Its existence became known to the present writer too late to be mentioned, as it well deserves, in the present work.

13) דֶּרֶךְ תְּבוּנוֹת,

methodological introduction to the Talmud, published by the author:

Amsterdam, 1742, 8°.

Offenbach, 1788, 12° (with German explanation of difficult words by Kalman Posna, also סֵדֶר הַהַפְטָרוֹת מִכָּל הַשָּׁנָה according to מִנְהַג פְּרַאנְקְפוּרְט דְּמַיִין).

Lemberg, 1833, 12°.

Minsk, 1835, 16°.

Minsk, 1836, 8°, 40 pp. (by A. S. Weinshel).

Lemberg, 1857, 8° (entitled לְרַמְחַ"ל כְּלָלֵי הַשַּׁ"ס, וְהוּא דֶּרֶךְ תְּבוּנוֹת).

Warsaw, 1857, 12°, 48 pp.

Jerusalem, 1880, 12° (בסופו מכתב מהר' אברהם שמחה ממסטיסלאוו על באור רמח"ל על האדרא).

14) סֵפֶר הַהִגָּיוֹן,

Logic, written by Luzzatto in Amsterdam in 1742, published (with

an introductory biographical sketch) by Joseph Cohen Zedek:

Warsaw, 1897, 8°, XXXIX+77 pp.

15) לְשׁוֹן לְמוּדִים,

rhetoric, in 3 parts: 1) in 5 chapters, concerning rhetorical principles in all languages; 2) in 10 chapters, treating of rhetorical principles in Hebrew; 3) in 3 chapters, treating of style, poetical rules etc. A drama, מַעֲשֶׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן, is appended to it (written in 1724, when Luzzatto was 17 years old). The drama was edited by the present writer and published in 1927 by Dvir Tel-Aviv, Palestine (together with מִגְדַּל עֹז and לְיִשְׁרִים תְּהִלָּה under name of סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, and separately, with introduction). Parts 2 and 3 of the rhetoric, found and edited by the present writer, will form one of the volumes of "Moses Hayyim Luzzatto's Works," all to be published by Dvir, Tel-Aviv. So far only the first part of the rhetoric has been published, the first time—by the author himself:

Mantua, 1727, 16° (8°?) (of this edition there is Almanzi's copy corrected according to Luzzatto's MSS., in the possession of the Columbia University Library, 56 pp).

Berlin, 1750, 8°.

Lemberg, 1810, 8° [also 12°].

Sidilkow, 1836, 8° (the last two editions—with a lengthy introduction to rhetoric by D. B. Ginzburg).

Grodno, 1836, 8° and 16°.

Warsaw, 1891, 12°.

16) אֶגֶרֶת הַמְּלִיצָה,

קיצור מ„לשון למודים", abridged from לְשׁוֹן לְמוּדִים, published by Margolit:

Novodvor, 1796, 8°.

17) מַאֲמָר עַל הַדְּרָשָׁה,

chapter on Elocution, written 1742, part of Luzzatto's unpublished סֵפֶר הַמְּלִיצָה. The chapter was published in *Kerem Hemed*, VI, 1–3:

Prague, 1841, 8°.

18) מַעֲשֶׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן,

Drama, written 1724, in 3 acts, as appendix to the rhetoric לְשׁוֹן לְמוּדִים

(see above No. 15). Published for the first time (with introduction and explanatory notes by the present writer)in two editions,by Dvir, Tel-Aviv: 1) separately, under name of מַעֲשָׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן, XII+53 pp. 2) jointly with מִגְדַּל עֹז and לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה under name of סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת (also in a de luxe edition):

Tel-Aviv, 1927, 8°.

19) מִגְדַּל עֹז,

Idyllic drama, in 4 acts, written in Padua 1727, published for the first time (with preface in Hebrew by M. Letteris, Latin introduction by F. Delitzsch and notes by S. D. Luzzatto) by Delitzsch and Letteris:

Leipsic, 1837, 8° (in two editions: one—with *Prolegomena* by Delitzsch, and one—without).

Lemberg, 1850.

Leopole, 1854, (ע"י יעקב מנחם שרענצעל), 102 pp.

Königsberg, 1860 (with preface by Letteris and notes by S. D. Luzzatto, XIV+104 pp).

Warsaw, 1863.

Tel-Aviv, 1927 (by Dvir, in 2 editions: one—separately, and one—jointly with מַעֲשָׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן and לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה under name of סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת (see above No. 18).

Note.—Prof. Von Lengerke translated מִגְדַּל עֹז into German. Was the translation ever published? If so, where and when? We are unable to answer this. [Before going to print, we found the following reference: Cäsar v. Lengerke, Über das Jüdische Drama (Blätter für literarische unterhaltung, jahrg. 1839, Bd. 1, Nos. 91–94, Leipsic). Same reproduced under the title Hebraistics in Blackwood's Mag. vol. 50, pp. 609–617, Edinburgh, 1841].

20) לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה,

allegorical drama, published by the author:

Amsterdam, 1743, 8° et 4° (edition de-luxe).

Berlin, 1780, 8°.

Berlin, 1799, —

Lemberg, 1799, 8° (with preface by Solomon Dubno).

Lemberg, 1813, 8°.

Lemberg, 1823, 8°.

Lissa, 1824, 8°

Lemberg, 1825, 8°.

Yosefow, 1826, 12° (by יצחק אריה הלוי מרגליות).

Bamberg, 1837, 8° (in anthology תִּפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל by A. Martinet, pp. 268–323).

Vilna, 1849, 16°.

Warsaw, 1857, 82 pp.

Warsaw, 1858, 12°.

Zolkiew, 18.... 8°.

Lemberg, 1859 (in זְמִירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, כרך א עם תולדות המחבר ושירים ממנו by מיכל וואלף).

Odessa, 1860 (with Yiddish translation, pub. by M. A. Beilinson, בַּיילִינְסָאן).

Lemberg, 1874, 12° (with German translation by Musen, 109 pp.).

Lemberg, 1879 (with Almanzi's biography of Luzzatto, by מיכל וואלף).

Warsaw, 1884.

Tel-Aviv, 1927 (separately, also jointly with מַעֲשֶׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן and מִגְדָּל עֹז under name of סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת. Of the last there is also an edition de-luxe. See above Nos. 18 and 19).

Note.—There is a Yiddish translation by Berger, בוך לישרים תהלה איבערזעצט פון לָשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ. Also an English transl. by Herbert S. Goldstein and Rebecca Fishel, New York, 1915.

21) שִׁיר הִלּוּלִים לַחֲתוּנַת יִצְחָק בֶּן שַׁבְתַּי מַארִינִי, or יָם וַיַּבָּשָׁה, written for the occasion of Isaac Marini's wedding with Judith Italia. A play on their names (Marini = יָם and Italia = יַבָּשָׁה) forms the basis of the poem. It comes in complete form at the end of Luzzatto's MSS. of the drama מַעֲשֶׂה שִׁמְשׁוֹן (in possession of Prof. A. Freimann, Frankfort a.M.). In the published versions the first page is missing (see אֹהֶל אַבְרָהָם, *Merzbacher Katalogue*, München, 1888). Contains 246 verses; most of them have 11 vowels, some—only 7; all have the יַחַד on the third. Published from an Oxford

MS. by Z. H. Edelmann under name of תְּהִלָּה לַיְשָׁרִים.

1853 (in הֶחָלוּץ II, pp. 107–116).

Brody, 1853.

London, 1854, 8°.

Königsberg 1873 (improved edition by Rothstein).

Lemberg, 1879 (at the end of תְּהִלָּה לַיְשָׁרִים, published by מיכל ואלף).

Note.—This poem, as well as most of Luzzatto's other lyrical poems, collected and edited by the present writer, will form, under name of סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים, one of the volumes of *M. H. Luzzatto's Works*, being published by Dvir, Tel Aviv, Palestine.

22) שִׁיר חֲתוּנָה,

ליום חתונת ידידו אברהם בן משה חמיץ, wedding-poem containing 6 stanzas, signed תְּינוֹק דְּלָא חַכִּים מח"ל, copy of which we were, unfortunately, unable to locate:

Venice, n.d. 8°.

23) שִׁיר לַחֲתוּנַת יִצְחָק בֶּן אַהֲרֹן מַארִינִי,

wedding-poem in honor of his friend Isaac b. Aaron Marini, contains 4 stanzas of 8 lines each:

Venice, 8°.

Frankfort a.M., 1907, (in collection of שִׁירִים נִסְפָּחִים at the end of מִסְלַת יְשָׁרִים published by Friedberg, with German translation).

Frankfort a.M., 1910 (in collection of Luzzatto's *Gelegenheitsgedichte*, pub. by Friedberg under name of אוֹרוֹת מַאפָּל, p. 1).

Firenze, 1910 (in *Rivista Israelitica*, VII, Nos. 5–6, by Prof. צבי פרץ חיות, who also published this poem separately with two more of Luzzatto's: עַל מוֹת ר' אַהֲרֹן רָפָאֵל בֶּן יַעֲקֹב and עַל מוֹת הָרַב מְנַחֵם קְרַאקוֹבְיָה שָׁלוֹם, under name of: *Tre poesie d'occosione di M. Ch. Luzzatto*, Firenze, 1910).

24) שִׁיר לַחֲתוּנַת יִצְחָק חַיִּים וּנְעִירָה,

wedding-poem, where עַזּוּת, אֵימָה and חָכְמָה take part in a dispute; there is also a חִידָה.* Sample given by Almanzi in כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III,

p. 153–4. Unfortunately we were unable to locate a copy of this poem:

Mantua, 1733, 8°.

*אשר צורתה: איש יפה תאר עוטה רוח כשלמה, כצל עובר להבל דמה in 19 lines.

25) שִׁיר לִכְבוֹד עִמָּנוּאֵל כַּלְבּוֹ,

in honor of Calvo's graduation from the University of Padua, consists of 3 octaves:

Venice, 1724, 8°.

Paris. 1899 (pub. by Halberstamm in *Revue d. Etudes Juives*, vol. 39, pp. 317–318).

Frankfort a.M., 1907 (at the end of מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים, pub. by Friedberg. See above No. 23).

Frankfort a.M., 1910 (in collection אוֹרוֹת מַאפָּל. See above No. 23).

26) שִׁיר־זֶהֶב לִכְבוֹד אֵלְיָהוּ קוֹנְסִילִי,

Sonnet in honor of Elijah Consigli's graduation:

Venice, 1723, 8°.

Paris, 1899 (pub. by Prof. D. Kaufmann in *Revue d. Etudes Juives*, vol. 39, pp. 135–136.

27) שִׁיר־זֶהֶב לִכְבוֹד אֵלְיָהוּ סֵיזַאנָה,

Sonnet in honor of Elijah Cesano's graduation, signed אוהב טהר לב מח"ל:

Venice (?), 1727.

1899 (by Prof. Kaufmann, see above No. 26).

28) שִׁיר־יְדִידוּת לִכְבוֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל גְּדַלְיָה קָזִיס,

in honor of Casis' graduation, consisting of 10 octaves. MS. copy in collection עֵמֶק הַשִּׁירִים of David Franco Mendes, in possession of Ez Hayim Seminarium, Amsterdam. This copy was photographed and will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21). Pub. the first time:

Venice, (?) n.d. 8°.

29) שִׁיר לִכְבוֹד שְׁלֹמֹה בְּר' יִצְחָק לַאמְפְּרוֹנְטִי,

in honor of Lampronti's graduation, consists of 13 octaves, with a

יָתֵד only on the 7th vowel. We were unable to secure a copy of this poem, mentioned by Almanzi in כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, p. 144, and by Fürst in his Bibliotheca Judaica as published the first time:

Venice, n.d. 8°.

30) שִׁיר לִכְבוֹד יַעֲקֹב הַיילְפְּרוֹן,

in honor of Jacob Heilprun's graduation, consists of 8 octaves, with יָתֵד on the third vowel. We were unable to secure a copy of this poem neither. It is mentioned by Almanzi and Fürst (see above No. 29) as published:

Venice, n.d. 8°.

31) שִׁיר־זֶהָב לִכְבוֹד יְשַׁעְיָהוּ רוֹמַאנִין,

sonnet of peculiar construction in honor of Isaiah Romanin, author of the book מַלִּיץ יָשָׁר, for the occasion of its publication. The sonnet has larger and shorter lines, some of them unrimed. Published in Romanin's book:

Venice, 1730.

32) קִינָה עַל מוֹת הָרַב יִצְחָק חַיִים קַנְטַארִינִי,

dirge on death of his teacher Isaac Vita Cohen Cantarini (מַהַחַזָּנִים), called יָחְכָּ"ם; contains 24 stanzas of 4 lines each, with echo-device:

Venice, 1728? (Cantarini died 1723).

Leipsic, 1837 (beginning only pub. by Delitzsch in his introduction to מִגְדַּל עֹז).

Vilna, 1844 (in פְּרַחֵי צָפוֹן, II, 13 stanzas only).

Krakau, 1892 (in אוֹצַר הַסִּפְרוּת, IV, pp. 158-165, pub. by Halberstamm).

33) עַל מוֹת הָרַב מְנַחֵם קְרַאקוֹבְיָה,

dirge on death of Menahem Cracovia, rabbi in Venice. The poem is written in dramatic form, the following taking part: the musae, Heaven, Earth, mountains, vine, cedar, lion, man—and soul of the departed. Contains 327 verses, meter same as in יָם וְיַבָּשָׁה (see above No. 21):

Venice, 1726, 8°.

Frankfort a.M., 1907 (in collection שִׁירִים נִסְפָּחִים, at the end of מַסֶּכֶת יְשָׁרִים, pub. by Friedberg, see above No. 23).

Frankfort a.M., 1910 (in collection אוֹרוֹת מַאפָל see Ibid.).

34) עַל מוֹת הָרַב יְהוּדָה מַצְלִיחַ פַּאדוֹבָה,

dirge on death of R. Judah M. Padova, died 1728. Found in collection of Hebrew-Italian poems מְחָק שְׁפָתַיִם, in possession of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. Published by Dr. S. Bernstein in הַדאָר, vol. VIII, No. 17:

New York, 1929.

35) עַל מוֹת ר' בִּנְיָמִין כֹּהֵן וִיטַאלִי,

monody beginning אֵלִי תַּבַל וְעָרֶיהָ in the Spanish-arabic taste, on death of rabbi Benjamin Cohen Vitali of Reggio:

Venice, 1730, 8°.

Livorno, 1846 (in Piperno's קוֹל עָנָב, part I).

36) עַל מוֹת אַהֲרֹן רְפָאֵל בֶּן ר' יַעֲקֹב שָׁלוֹם,

dirge on the death of a young friend, Aaron R. Shalom; distinguished by its free flow:

Frankfort, 1907 (in שִׁירִים נִסְפָּחִים, at the end of מִסְלַת יְשָׁרִים, pub. by Friedberg, see above No. 23).

Frankfort, 1910 (in collection אוֹרוֹת מַאפָל see Ibid.).

Firenze, 1910 (pub. by Prof. Chayes, see Ibid.).

37) עַל מוֹת הָרַב מְנַשֶּׁה חַפֶּץ,

dirge on death of r. Menashe Hefez; distinguished by its free flow, longer and shorter lines, with יָחִד on the 7th vowel. Pub. by M. Grünwald, *Israelitische Letterbode*, VIII, pp. 58–59:

Amsterdam, 1882–1883.

Note.—A more correct copy of this poem is now in the possession of the University Library of Jerusalem. It will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21) in revised form.

38) שִׁיר חֲנוּכַּת הָאָרוֹן,

collection of songs and psalms in honor of dedication of Sephardic synagogue in Padua. The 7 psalms seem to be part of the lost "150 Psalms" (קנ"ן מִזְמוֹרֵי תְהִלִּים). Three of these psalms were published alternately: 1) in בִּכּוּרֵי הָעִתִּים, vol. 6, Wien, 1826, p. 56; 2) Ibid., vol. 7, Wien, 1827, p. 99; 3) by Delitzsch in his Introduction

to מִגְדַּל עֹז, Leipsic, 1837, p. XVI. The whole collection was published by the author himself:

Venice, 1729.

39) תְּפִלָּה וְשִׁיר לְלֵיל פָּסַח,

cabbalistic prayer and poem consisting of 15 octaves (שְׁמִינִיּוֹת), on the nation's exit from Egypt. The first and the last stanzas bear Luzzatto's initials. Sample published by Almanzi in כָּרֶם חֶמֶד III, Prague, 1838, pp. 154–155. The full text of the prayer and the poem, the last—with a cabbalistic commentary, was published by S. Luria at the end of דַּעַת תְּבוּנוֹת, pp. 25-32 (see above No. 7):

Warsaw, 1889.

Warsaw, 1891.

40) שִׁיר עַל חַמֵּי טְבַרְיָה,

a poem on the hot-springs of Tiberias, written in Palestine c. 1744, the first few stanzas bearing Luzzatto's initials. Published by Jacob Toprover, in *Hamaggid*, הַמַּגִּיד, vol. 15, No. 21:

Lyck, 1871.

41) חִידָה,

מי״א שורות כפולות נקראות באותיותן פנים ואחור, קורא הגלגל, a riddle, consisting of 11 verses given in two versions, each word to be read both ways from right to left and from left to right. Published in *Hamaggid* (הַמַּגִּיד), vol. 12, No. 34, p. 269:

Lyck, 1868.

42) מִכְתָּבִים,

Letters of Luzzatto, only a small part of them have been published. 14 are given by Almanzi in כָּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, Prague, 1838, pp. 142–167. Some letters, together with a number of documents on the Luzzatto persecution, are to be found in R. Jacob Emden's תּוֹרַת הַקְּנָאוֹת Altona, 1752, pp. 44–56. So has פִּין, ש. י. one of Luzzatto's letters in his סוֹפְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

A complete edition of L.'s letters, as well as of all the documents pertaining to the Luzzatto persecution, the original collection of which is to be found in the library of the Jewish Theological Semina-

ry, is in process of preparation by the present writer, to be published under name of סֵפֶר אִגְרוֹת רַמְחַ"ל וּבְנֵי דוֹרוֹ, by Dvir, Tel Aviv (see above No. 21).

II. *Luzzatto's unpublished works*

43) נִיכּוּחַ כ"י, תִּקּוּן מְכִירַת יוֹסֵף,
אשר בו רמח"ל קופץ בראש ושני לו ר' משה דוד ואלי ואחריהם ישיבו אמרים להם כל חבריהם, ובצירוף השכינה מבטלים עון הזה וכל חטא בית ישראל מאדם הראשון עד הזמן ההוא".

Almanzi, כְּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, p. 131, foot-note 18. According to Almanzi, the MS. was in possession of Abraham Zvi Levi (אברהם צבי הלוי), a friend of his in Padua, son-in-law of שבתי אהרן חיים מַארִיני, grandson of שבתי מארִיני, author of שִׁירֵי הַחֲלִיפוֹת and contemporary of Luzzatto.

44) בזריקת אבני נגף לארמילוס, פְּעוּלָה,
נעשית מרמח"ל ור' משה דוד ואלי, והיא כויכוח, לזרוק אבני בליכטראות להכות את האויבים מערכה חמישית וארמילוס הרשע, והאבנים האלה תהיינה אחר כך אבנים גדולות ליסד הבית".

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 19.—MS. was in possession of the same Levi (see above No. 43).

45) תְּפִלָּה אֲרַמִּית לַה' וּבַקָּשָׁה עִבְרִית לַשְּׁכִינָה,
תפלה בלשון ארמית לשי"ת לבקש רשות ממנו לנחם השכינה האבלה, ובקשה בלשון עברית לשכינה בשם מַלְכָּה קְדוֹשָׁה, כדי שתקבל הנחמות מיוסדות על פסוק נחמו נחמו עמי". ורמח"ל הוא הדובר אליה עם שמואל הנביא ואחיה השילוני אשר קרא אותם לשֶׁבת יחדיו, ועל ידי עזריאל עבד ה' (הממונה מרמח"ל בהשבעתו) תבאנה אליה כל הנחמות – – כל זה מכתיבת רמח"ל ממש.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 20.—MS. was in possession of same person (see above No. 43).

46) תִּיקּוּנִים ע' על פסוק ולכל היד החזקה",
להַשלוּם הע' תיקונים הידועים המיוחסים לרשב"י אשר הם על פסוק בראשית ברא אלהים".

Almanzi, Ibid., p. 115.

ספר תיקונים חדשים לרמח"ל, כ"י, הנם למספר ע', והמדברים בהם: אדם הראשון, אברהם, יעקב, משה, יחזקאל, אליהו, מטטרון ורב המונא. המחבר הקדים להם ב' הקדמות ובשלהי המגיד כתב תפלתו אשר אני נות לפניך – –

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 28, p. 135. There are a number of interesting quotations, of which the last is most characteristic: קם משה רעיא מהימנא פתח ואמר: רבי רבי, והושעתי לצאני ולא יהיו עוד לבז", וכו' וכו' למיהוי כלא בחיקונא שלים בחילא דהאי זהר קדישא ותיקונין דילך קדישין זכאה חולקהון דישראל בעלמא דין ובעלמא דאתי". Ibid., p. 139. The MS. was in possession of Almanzi's friend, a great scholar and admirer of Luzzatto's, מרדכי שמואל גירונדי.

47) לְקוּטֵי כְּנָנוֹת,

כולל כְּנָנוֹת למנחת ערב שבת על "מזמור לדוד הבו" ועל "לכה דודי", ואחר־כך סודות וענינים עמוקים על איזה פסוקים מהתנ"ך אשר לא באו כסדרם.

Almanzi, Ibid., p. 139, foot-note 32. MS., in Luzzatto's handwriting, was in possession of מרדכי שמואל גירונדי.

48) חִבּוּר עַל קֹהֶלֶת,

consisting of 800 pages, mentioned in Emden's תורת הקנאות, pp. 44–45 and in Luzzatto's letter to Calvo (Almanzi, foot-note 64); its whereabouts are unknown, probably lost.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 33.

49) חִבּוּר עַל הַתּוֹרָה or זֹהַר תְּנָיְנָא,

in many parts, probably lost, (see above note 48), בא זכרו במקומות הנ"ל והותיר לנו הזמו שריד כמעט על פסוק "ויהי מקץ שנתים ימים" וכו' בהערה 64, ובתורת הקנאות דף מ"ה ע"ב.

Almanzi, Ibid., p. 140, foot-note 34.

50) פֵּירוּשׁ עֲשָׂרֶת הַדְּבָרוֹת,

על פי הסוד, נזכר בתורת הקנאות, דף נ"ג ע"ב, אך לא ידענו מה היה לו, כאשר עיני לא ראו גם ארבעת החבורים אשר באו בסמוך.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 36. Probably lost.

51) פֵּירוּשׁ עַל הַקְּדָמָה אַחַת בְּסֵפֶר אוֹצְרוֹת חַיִּים,

עיין תורת הקנאות שם.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 37 (see above note 50). Probably lost.

52) מַאֲמָר עַל הָעֲקוּדִים שֶׁבְּסֵפֶר הַזֹּהַר,

על העקודים הנרמזים בזהר המיוחס לר' שמעון בן יוחאי ס' בראשית דף ג' ע"ב תורת הקנאות, שם.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 38. Probably lost.

53) פֵּירוּשׁ לְתִקּוּנֵי הַזֹּהַר,

תורת הקנאות, שם.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 39. Probably lost.

53A) כְּלָלִים רַאשׁוֹנִים לְחָכְמַת הָאֱמֶת,

מכ"י ממש של רמח"ל, השלימם ביום ט' אייר התצ"ד, ונראה שמהם הוציא איזה דבר לתועלתו לעשות הויכוח – – הנזכר בהערה 29.

Almanzi, Ibid., p. 154 (see above No. 10). Was in possession of מ. ש. גירונדי.

54) פֵּירוּשִׁים עַל מַאֲמָרֵי עֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל,

על דרך הסוד. תורת הקנאות, שם.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 40. Probably lost.

55) תְּפִלָּה לוֹמַר עַל קִבְרֵי הַצַּדִּיקִים,

בלשון צח ונקי, כ"י אצלי ואצל רבים מבני קהלתנו אשר עוד היום אומרים אותה על קבר הרופא ר' משה דוד וואלי (רב ואחר־כך חבר לרמח"ל בעניני קבלה – –), אך רמח"ל לא חִבְּרָהּ אלא על הצדיקים בכלל – – ושָׂם לה פירוש ארוך על דרך הנסתר.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 41. His MS. is now in possession of Columbia University library. This prayer will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים, annotated by the present writer (see above No. 21).

56) נְמוּקִים לְמַחֲזוֹר,

מכ"י ממש של רמח"ל (תורת הקנאות דף כ"ג ע"ב) הנמצא אצל אוהבי הנכבדים יורשי כמ"ר משה אריה טראסטי, ונראה כאשר זקנים הגידו, שרמח"ל היה ש"ץ בבית הכנסת לאשכנזים להתפלל קצת תפלות בימים הנוראים.

Almanzi, Ibid., foot-note 42.

איזה זקן מבני קהלתנו אומר ששמע מפי אביו או מפי זקנו שרמח"ל היה ש"ץ בביהכ"נ אשכנזים לימים הנוראים, ולזה עשה נימוקים רבים על דרך הסוד במחזור שלו לימים ההם לכַוֵּן בהם בשעה שהיה מתפלל.

Ibid. p. 115.

57) תִּיקוּנִים חֲדָשִׁים,

פירוש בקַבָּלה על המאמר "ר' יהודה היה נותן בהם סימנים"; על תפלת מִנחה ללילי שבתות.

MS. in Oxford, never published. See Neubauer, *Catalogue, Hebrew Manuscripts*, No. 1901, 1. (See below Sec. IX, No. 162).

58) וִיכּוּחַ בֵּין הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְהַגּוּף,

This treatise was listed in one of the catalogues I came across. There is no description of it on the reference-card.

59) ט"ו אוֹרוֹת,

ascribed to Luzzatto by Almanzi. See British Museum Catalogue, *Hebrew MSS.*, vol. III, 1915, p. 152.

60) וִיכּוּחַ בֵּין הֶחָכָם וְהֶחָסִיד,

Dispute between the Philosopher and the Pious. According to a note in the Code this treatise served Luzzatto as basis for his ethics מִסְלַת יְשָׁרִים. See Carmoly Catalogue.

61) לְקוּטֵי קַבָּלָה,

MS. in possession of Jewish Theological Seminary Library.

Note.—Among Luzzatto's letters, there is a list of his cabbalistic writings; among them are listed מַאֲמַר הַנְּבוּאָה and מִלְחָמוֹת ה'. We have no means of ascertaining whether there were such treatises in existence, or whether these refer merely to some of Luzzatto's writings published under different titles.

62) מַחְבֶּרֶת הַדִּקְדּוּק, on grammar,

mentioned by Almanzi, כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, p. 125. MS. was in possession of Luzzatto's pupil, David Franco Mendes.

63) סֵפֶר הַמְּלִיצָה or מַחְבֶּרֶת הַמְּלִיצָה, on Elocution,

נשארו כ"י אצל תלמידו החכם ר' דוד פראנקו – – ב„מאמר החכמה" דף ט' ע"ב הזכיר רמח"ל ספר האחרון בשם „מחברת המליצה".

Almanzi, Ibid., p. 125, also p. 168, foot-note 168. Of this treatise one chapter, under the name of מַאֲמָר עַל הַדְּרָשָׁה, was published (see above No. 17). In Almanzi's private copy of *Kerem Hemed*, III, now in possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary library, there is the following addition in his own hand-writing: ס' המליצה הנזכר ואחריו מאמר על הדרשה נכתבו מאת המחבר באמשטרדם בשנת תק"ב. ומכ"י תלמידו ר"ד מינדיס פראנקו, הנמצא בעקד הספרים לר' יעקב מאיר לעהרן, נדפס מעט מזער ממאמר הזה בכרם חמד חלק ו' דף א–ג.

Note.—Has this מַחְבֶּרֶת הַמְּלִיצָה any connection with the אִגֶּרֶת הַמְּלִיצָה, published by Margolit (see above No. 16)? Or is this the one?

64) לְשׁוֹן לִמּוּדִים,

rhetoric, parts II and III, first part was published several times. The complete MS. is in possession of Prof. A Freimann, Frankfort a.M. The complete rhetoric, edited by the present writer, will be published by Dvir, Tel-Aviv (see above No. 15).

64A) כולל ק"ן מְזִמּוֹרִים, סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים,

probably lost, only a few were published in חֲנוּכַּת הָאָרוֹן (see above No. 38). Almanzi, *Kerem Hemed*, III, p. 132.

65) תְּפִלָּה וְשִׁירָה עַל מַתַּן תּוֹרָה לְחַג הַשָּׁבוּעוֹת,
התפלה כתובה בלשון צחה ונקיה, גם כי איזה דבר סוד יבוא בה. והשירה כוללת י' שמיניות במשקל שירת גאולת מצרים אשר הבאתי בהערה הקודמת — —.

Almanzi, *Kerem Hemed*, III, p. 155, foot-note 86.

66) תְּפִלָּה וְשִׁיר עַל מִשְׁנַה תּוֹרָה,
found at the end of MS. לְקוּטֵי קַבָּלָה לְרַמְחַ"ל in possession of Jewish Theological Seminary Library (see above No. 61). Will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21).

67) שִׁיר לִכְבוֹד ר' יְקוּתִיאֵל מְווילְנָא,
שיר לרמח"ל לכבוד תלמידו ר' יקותיאל מווילנא (אשר כינה אותו בשם כמוהר"ר) בכמוהר"ר יהודה ליב ביום אשר הוכתר בכתר הפילוסופיאה והרפואה, כולל ט"ו שמיניות שקולות, ובו דובר הַמָּקְוֶה, וְהַחָקְוָה תשמיע כהד קולה ובאיזה פעמים חשיב אמריה לו. את הכל עשה רמח"ל יפה בעתו, דרכיו כמשפטו דרכי נעם, ובמתק שפתים הביע אמר".

Almanzi's note, in his own hand-writing, found in his private copy of כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, in possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library.

68) שִׁיר לִכְבוֹד מָרְדְּכַי בֶּן מְנַחֵם כֹּהֵן,
"שיר לרמח"ל ביום אשר התעטר בכתר הפילוסופיאה והרפואה כמ"ר מרדכי כהן בכמ"ר מנחם, ורמח"ל הקריבו למנחה אל מעלת החכם הרופא כמהר"ר מרדכי פיראריסי מורה דעת לאוהבו; שיר הזה כולל ו' שמיניות בב' יחדות על השלישית על השביעית (כס' מגדל עז) ובו ממשל משלו על עובד שדה בזעת אפיו אשר סוף סוף ישמח בקצירו, וכן אוהבו יגיל בתבואת שכלו אחרי העמל והטרח סוף".

Almanzi, Ibid.

69) שִׁיר לַחֲתוּנַת מֹשֶׁה בֶּן יַעֲקֹב טְרִיאַסְטִי,
שי ר ואצלי מכ"י המחבר ממש), בעל ד' שְׁשִׁיוֹת ביתד רק על השלישית, לימי חתונת כמ"ר משה בן ר' יעקב טריאסטי ומרת פִּירְלָה בת הגביר מאיר לוצאטו; ובו רמח"ל ממשל משל כדרכו, ודמה ימי האביב לימי הכלולות".

Almanzi, Ibid.

70) שִׁיר־זֶהֶב לְיוֹם חֲתוּנַת מַאִיר עָזִין,
"שיר־זהב (אשר לפי הנראה נדפס בויניציאה) ליום חתונת כמ"ר מַאִיר עָזִין בכמ"ר חיים משה ומרת לונה–עם מרת שְׁמָחָה בת אָשֵׁר חַפֶּץ; וב' יחדותיו תבאנה במקום הנהוג. ובו רמח"ל מצחק על שָׁם וכנוי החתן ושָׁם אמו ושָׁם הכַּלה, ומַמשל מָשָׁלו על השמש והירח הנותנים אורה ושמחה בעז".

Almanzi, Ibid.

71) תְּהִלּוֹת הָאֲפִיפְיוֹר פָּלוֹרִי,
poem MS. found in collection עֲמֶק הַשִּׁירִים of David Franco Mendes

in possession of Seminarium of Portuguese Jews, at Amsterdam, Holland. It will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21).

72) קִינָה עַל מוֹת הָרַב אֶפְרַיִם הַכֹּהֵן,

קינה לרמח"ל (מכ"י ממש אצלי) ביום מר אל הִלָּכֵד החכם הכולל כמוהר"ר אפרים הכהן מ"ץ בק"ק מודינא; וחרוזיה נ"ז בעלי ז' וי"א הברות, ויתד באה הן על הג' הן על הז'. בה צועק מרה נגד המות אשר הסיר בלא עתו מקרב עַמו האדם הגדול בענקים, "איש חכם ונבון הזה".

Almanzi, Ibid., (see above No. 67).

73) קִינָה עַל מוֹת חוֹתְנוֹ הָרַב דָּוִד פִּינְצִי,

poem found in collection עֵמֶק הַשִּׁירִים by David Franco Mendes, Amsterdam (see above No. 71). It will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21).

74) עַל מַצֶּבֶת אֲחוֹתוֹ לַאבְרָה חַנָּה לוּצַאטוּ,

copied by Almanzi in his own copy of כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד (see above No. 67). Will appear in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21).

75) חִידָה,

צורתה כסכין מושלך ארצה ותחתיו המלות "והתנית תָּו", כתובה במשקל שיר. (בי' טורים בעלי י"א הברות דלת וסוגר אשר שנים שנים יעשו ההרוז) ולא פירש "בה המחבר אם עשאה ליום חתונה או בזמן אחר".

Almanzi, *Kerem Hemed*, III, p. 140.

76) חֲיֵי רוֹעִים,

תרגום מפורטוגיזית משירי קַמָּאֶנְס, this only translation from the Portuguese is found in collection עֵמֶק הַשִּׁירִים, at Amsterdam (see above No. 71). It will be published in Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַשִּׁירִים (see above No. 21).

77) מִכְתָּבִים,

Letters of Luzzatto, most of them written to his teacher Bassan from his early youth up to the last period of his life. Some of them contain cabbalistic subject-matter. MSS. are in possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library. The letters, of which only a few were published, form, together with the letters of his contemporaries re Luzzatto, under name of סֵפֶר אִגְרוֹת רַמְחַ"ל וּבְנֵי דוֹרוֹ, two volumes of "Luzzatto's Works," edited by the present writer, to be published by Dvir, Tel-Aviv (see above No. 42).

B. References

I. *On the Period*

1) Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, vol. I, Berlin, 1855, pp. 334–360.

2) Franz Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, Leipsic 1836, pp. 86–92.

3) גידימאן, הַתּוֹרָה וְהַחַיִּים בִּימֵי הַבֵּינַיִם, Warsaw, 1899, part II, p. 103f, pp. 196–198ff; part III, ch. 7. Important material on spiritual life of Italian Jews in the pre-Luzzatto period.

4) Franck, *La Kabbale*, Paris, 1892.

5) ר' יעקב עמדן, תּוֹרַת הַקְּנָאוֹת, Lemberg, 1870.

6) Karpeles, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1909, vol. II, pp. 57–60; 282f.

7) Freystadt, *Introduction to Luzzatto's* חוֹקֵר וּמְקַבֵּל, Königsberg, 1840.

8) S. Dubnow, *M. H. Luzzatto*, Voskhod, 1887, book V, pp. 105–108, 121–124; VI, p. 108.

9) G. Deutsch, *Philosophy of Jewish History*, Cincinnati, 1897, p. 61f.

10) N. Brill, *Zur Geschichte der Rhetorischen Literatur bei den Juden*, (Ben Chananja, Löw, 1863, p. 567ff).

11) Waldstein, *The Evolution of Modern Hebrew Literature*, New York, 1916. Introduction pp. 2–4.

II. *On Padua and the Jewish Community of Padua*

12) Cesare Faligno, *The Story of Padua*, London, 1910, (Mediaeval Towns Series). There is a fine picture of the University Court in Padua.

13) Prof. Goncet de Mas, *Guide de Padoue*, Verone, 187–?. Painstaking description of Padua, which is situated in a wide plain, with the view of the Alpine-peaks to the North, and mountain ranges to the West.

14) Volkmann, *Padua*, Leipsic, 1904. Artistic reproductions.

15) Maria Borgherini, *Il Governo di Venezia in Padova nell ultimo Secolo della republica* (dal 1700 al 1797), Padova, 1909, pp. 36–37.

16) Antonio Ciscato, *Gli ebrei in Padova dal 1300 al 1800*, Padova 1901.

17) אליהו בחור, מָסֹרֶת הַמָּסֹרֶת, הוצאת כ' ד' גינצבורג, preface, pp. 7, 14.

18) מהר"ם פדובה, שאלות ותשובות, Venice 1553.

19) יחכ"ם (יצחק חיים כהן מהחזנים) יִצְחָק פְּתַח, Amsterdam, 1685.

20) L. Dukes, *Ehrensäulen und Denksteine*, Wien, 1837, p. 56.

21) מ. ש. גירונדי, תּוֹלְדוֹת רַבֵּנוּ פַּאדוֹבָה, (כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III), Prague, 1838, pp. 89–96.

22) Dr. Brann, *Zum Ofener Judenmord*, *Monatsschrift*, XXX, pp. 541–542.

23) יוסף כהן צדק, מָבוֹא לְס' הַהֶגְיוֹן לְרַמְחַ"ל, Warsaw, 1897, pp. 5–7, 36–37.

And articles on Padua in the Jewish Encyclopedia and Eisenstein's אוֹצַר יִשְׂרָאֵל.

III. *On the Luzzatto-family*

24) S. D. Luzzatto, *Geschichte der Familie Luzzatto*, *Jahrbuch*, Bush, Wien, 1848, VI, p. 109f.

25) אהרן לוצאטו, נַל אֲבָנִים, Trieste, 1851.

26) א. בָּרְלִינֶר, לוּחוֹת אֲבָנִים, Frankfort, 1881.

27) Magazin für d. *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1880, p. 114.

28) Brann, S. D. Luzzatto, *Gedenkbuch*, Berlin, 1900. And articles on "Luzzatto" in Jewish Encyclopedia and Eisenstein's אוֹצַר יִשְׂרָאֵל.

IV. *On Luzzatto's Life*

29) יוסף אַלְמַנְצִי, תּוֹלְדוֹת רַמְחַ"ל, כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, Prague, 1838, pp. 112–169. This is the first and the very best biography of Luzzatto so far. Almanzi has done in it excellent pioneer-work. According to S. D. Luzzatto, (שד"ל, הקדמה לרשימת ספרי הביבליאָטעק של אלמנצי אוֹצַר הַסְּפָרוּת, 2, Krakau, 1888), Almanzi continued working on his biography of M. H. L. even after it was published, making many additions in his own copy of כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III. This copy, sold among others of the Almanzi collection, to a private individual in New York, is now in the possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary,

and the present writer made full use of Almanzi's notes, which are all incorporated in this work.

30) גירונדי, ש. מ, רמח"ל, כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, II, Prague, 1836; pp. 54–67.
While Almanzi is more rationalistic and inclined to be critical of Luzzatto's cabbalistic fancies, Ghirondi's tone is always enthusiastic and full of admiration.

31) עמדן, יעקב ר', תּוֹרַת הַקְּנָאוֹת, Lemberg, 1870.
Most important documents in the Luzzatto-case, pp. 91–116.

32) Jost, *Die Verfolgung Luzzatto's*, *Israelitische Annalen*, 1839, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

33) מאיר לעטערים, תּוֹלְדוֹת רמח"ל, in preface to מִגְדַּל עֹז, Königsberg, 1861.

34) ראטהשטיין, פייוויל, נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים, Frankfort a.M., 1875.

35) גירונדי, ש. מ, חנגאל ניפי, תולדות גדולי איטליה, Trieste, 1853, pp. 227–231.
Contains the following interesting reference to Luzzatto's last days:
. . . ספר איש נאמן שרב גדול וחסיד מוהר"ר מלאכי העיד לו שנמצא בעכו כשנפטר הרב לוצאטו ששמשו איזה ימים קודם פטירתו, ומצאו עניו מאד, ובשביל זה טרח עצמו להוליכו לקברו בארץ ישראל – –.
Ibid. p. 231.

36) Gräetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. X, pp. 332–346, Leipsic, 1897. In דברי ימי ישראל, בַּנֶּרֶץ־שפ"ר, Warsaw, 1899, the material on Luzzatto is found in Vol. 8, pp. 382–406. In the *History of the Jews*, the Jewish Publication Society—Phila., 1895, it is found in vol. 5, pp. 232–245.

37) כהנא, דוד, אֶבֶן אֹפֶל, (הַשָּׁחַר, vol. 5). 1874, pp. 121–128, 177–180.
Also in תּוֹלְדוֹת הַמְקֻבָּלִים, part III, by the same author, pub. by Dvir, Tel-Aviv.

38) חוֹנֶס, מ. ש, תולדות הפוסקים, מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים (תולדותיו וספריו), p. 352–360. Warsaw, 1929.

39) "M. H. Luzzatto," *Vessillo Israelitico*, May 1878, p. 142f.

40) Moise Tedeschi, *M. H. Luzzatto, Cenni biografici.*

41) S. Dubnow, *M. H. Luzzatto*, Voskhod, 1887, books V, VI.

42) Isaacs, *A modern Hebrew Poet*, New York, 1878.

43) כהנא, אברהם, משה חיים לוצאטו, "תושיה" הוצאת, Warsaw, 1899.

44) Dr. S. Bernfeld, *Kämpfende Geister in Judenthum*, Berlin, 1907.

45) Isaac Landman, *Luzzatto, Year book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis*, vol. XVII, 1907, pp. 187–203.

46) S. Tsinberg, *Poet besvremenia*, Svoboda i Ravenstwo, 1907. Nos. 24–25. (This reference, as well as a number of others, was furnished by my friend, the well known bibliographer, Isaac Rivkind, of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library).

47) Giuseppe Jarè, *Moisè Vita Luzzatto, Schizzo biografico Con documenti inediti* (הקדמת דברים של ר"י בָּסָן באיטלקית, מכתבו אל רמח"ל והסכמתו עליו ספר הויכוח), Estratto de la Rivista *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, Anno LV–Puntate VI–IX, Giugno-Septembre, 1907.

48) Mose Chayim Luzzatto, *Krakauer Judische Zeitung*, vol. II, 1899, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 21–22 (see above No. 46).

49) Guttman, *Zsido Mistikuzok*, Budapest, 1915–1916. Mose Chayim Luzzatto, VI, 1916, pp. 107–108 (see above No. 46).

50) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, לונץ, vol. I, (קברי ארץ הצבי"), Vienna, 1882, p. 123 with reference to the date of Luzzatto's death:
הרמח"ל מ"ק בעה"ק טבריא – – קברו לא נודע כעת. יום פטירתו כ"ו אייר שנת תק"ו (צמח דוד" ובמכ"ע הבכורים שנה א' מאמר „רגלא דאמוראה").

51) לתולדות הישוב היהודי בכפר יוסף בן צבי, צִיּוֹן (important contribution to מאסף החברה הא"י להיסטוריה ואתנוגראפיה, ספר ראשון) Jerusalem, 1926, pp. 58, 65, 67. Very valuable reference to Luzzatto's burial place:
„כדאי רק לציין שני קברים חשובים, שיש כנראה איזה יסוד שהוא ליחס לכפר יוסף, והם–של רמח"ל והר"ר משה מלכי. הרמח"ל מת במגפה בעכו ביום כ"ו אייר התק"ו. נראה אומר אמנם, שמקום קבורתו הוא בטבריה, אולם – – הסברא נותנת להפך, שרמח"ל נקבר, כמנהג עכו, דוקא בכפר יוסף הסמוך. ובהיות שהמכתב נכתב רק כשנה אחת אחרי המאורע, הרי היה מקום קבורתו מן הדברים המפורסמים ולא קל היה לסלף את האמת – – Ibid. p. 65.
המחבר הנ"ל מזכיר גם ע"ד המגפה, שפרצה בזמן בקורו בעכו, ואיך שהיו נושאים את המתים שעה וחצי מעכו, וקוברים ביוסף – – Ibid. p. 67.
לפני הכניסה אל הכפר נכפר יוסף, מימין לדרך המלך, נגלה לנגד עיני בית הקברות היהודי. הרושם שהוא עושה חזק ומפתיע. ביחוד בסביבה זרה זו, הרחוקה וקרועה מכל ישוב יהודי. מצדו האחר נסמך שדה הקברות אל חורשת הזיתים, ומצדו השני נגע בבתי הכפר. החלקה היא גדולה למדי, וכולה זרועה מצבות, לוחות ושברי לוחות–זכר למצבות שאבדה צורתן. ע"פ גדלו של בית הקברות ניכר, שכאן מצאו מנוחתם דורות שלמים. ושום גדר, שום חומה אין לבית הקברות – – Ibid., p. 58.

52) תולדות חכמי ירושלים, אריה ליב פרומקין, part 2, Jerusalem, 1928, pp. 135–139.

And articles on M. H. Luzzatto in the Jewish Encyclopedia and Eisenstein's אוֹצַר יִשְׂרָאֵל.

V. *Personalites having some bearing on Luzzatto's life*

a. Rabbi Isaac Luria (האר"י)

53) Grätz, vol. IX, p. 437ff.

54) עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ, ר' נַפְתָּלִי בר' יעקב אלחנן, Amsterdam, 1653.
Bassan mentions this book in a letter to Luzzatto, who must have read it. Luria is quoted there to have said of R. Hayyim Vital that his was the soul of R. Akiba (דף י' ע"ב, עֵמֶק הַמֶּלֶךְ). And another thing:

פעם אחת אמר האר"י לתלמידיו . . . התפללו על משיח בן יוסף שלא ימות. וכתב ר' חיים בס' עץ חיים ע"ז: ומרוב טפשותנו לא היה בנו דעת לשאול אותו מי הוא המשיח בן יוסף, ולא עמד אלא ימים מועטים ונתבקש רבינו בישיבה של מעלה, ונודע לנו למפרע שהוא היה משיח בן יוסף".
(Ibid. דף י"א ע"ב). This passage is most important in following up the origin of Luzzatto's messianic mania.

b. Rabbi Moses Zakuta

55) Berliner, *Introduction to Zakuta's drama* יְסוֹד עוֹלָם, Berlin, 1874.

56) תְּפִתָּה עָרוּךְ, חֲבֵרוֹ הר"ר משה זכות, עם מבוא מאת ד. א. פרידמאן, הוצאת "עֲנָנוֹת". Berlin, 1922.

57) שטיינשניידר־מַאלטָר, סֵפֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל, pub. by אחיאסף. p. 397, Warsaw, 1897.

57A) תולדות גדולי איטליאה, חנאל ניפי ומ. ש. גירונדי, Trieste, 1853, p. 225.

58) Rhine, *Secular Hebrew Poetry of Italy*, Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. I, 1910–1911, pp. 392–402. See also Eisenstein's אוֹצַר יִשְׂרָאֵל, articles "זַכּוּתָא" and "אוּלְמוֹ".

c. Rabbi Benjamin Cohen Vitali of Reggio

59) תולדות גדולי איטליאה, חנגאל ניפי ומ. ש. גירונדי, p. 55, Trieste, 1853.
„ר' בנימין כהן צדק ויטאלי, ר"מ בק"ק ריגיו בזמן הרמ"ז וצ"ל והיה תלמידו בחכמת הקבלה. חִבֶּר ס' „גבול בנימין", דרושים נכבדים; ס' „אלון בכות", פירוש איכה; ס' „אבות עולם", פירוש אבות; „עת הזמיר", שירים לכל ימות השנה. ויש לו הגהות נכבדות באוצרות חיים, ובס' הכוונות להאר"י ככתוב בס' שם הגדולים ח"ב ערך ג — עוד ספר „נשמי ברכה", שו"ת על סדר ד' טורים; וס' „פתחי שערים", והם נמצאים בבית גנזיו של הגביר ר' בנימין פואה בעיר ריגיו. וכבר אור תורתו זורחת בספרי רבני דורו „פחד יצחק" בהרבה מקומות ובשו"ת „שתי הלחם" לר' משה חאגיז, והסכים שם עמו חתנו כמוהר"ר ישעיה בסאן". Ibid., p. 55.

60) David Kaufmann, *Ein Brief R. Benjamin Cohen Vitali's in Reggio*, *Monatsschrift*, 41 Jahrg., pp. 700–708.

Rabbi Cohen's letter was written in 1691 to R. Heschel of Vilna. Its most characteristic phrases are quoted here. He begs of him „להודיע לנו בחינת נפשנו רוחנו ונשמתנו . . . ולהשפיע עלינו מחכמתו, ובפרט בסוד התפלה והכוונות והיחודים המצטרכים בימים האלה ובזמן הזה, כי זה כמה שנים אין אנו מכוונים בכוונת האר"י זלה"ה ותלמידיו, בעבור אשר הוגד לנו מפה קדוש מהר"ן זלה"ה שאין לכנן בהם, יען כי כבר קמה שבינתא מעפרא . . . ובעבור זה אין לבכות על החורבן, ולומר קינות". Ibid., pp. 707–708.

d. Rabbi Isaiah Bassan

61) תולדות גדולי איטליאה, חנגאל ניפי ומ. ש. גירונדי, Trieste, 1853.
„ר' ישעיהו באסאן בן הרב הכולל נר' ישראל חזקיהו למד תורה בבחרותו עם ר"י בריאל והרמ"ז במנטובה — ואח"כ היה מ"ץ בפאדובה בביה"כ איטַלְיאני בזמן הגאון יחכ"ם — ומשם יצא ובא לעיר ריגיו ונעשה חתנו של המקובל האלהי הרב"ק זצ"ל — ותורתו של ישעיהו זורחת בכל ספרי רבני דורו „פחד יצחק", „דברי יוסף" — וכדומה. ונדפס ס' „תודת שלמים", הַיינו „לחמי תודה" מתשובותיו עם איזה תשובות כמוהר"ר ישראל בנימין בנו — והרב הנ"ל היה רבו של הרב החסיד הרמח"ל — ואחרי פטירת הרב"ק נכנס תחתיו לשרת בקדש — והניח עוד חבורים אחרים, קובץ תשובות בשם „גלי דל" וס' „אמרי יושר" — ועוד הגהות וחידושים על איזה מסכתות מהתלמוד, ועוד דרושים רבים בעשרים פנקסים, וכל החיבורים נמצאים בבית הגביר „פואה בריגיו — והיה גם־כן משורר נדול". Ibid., p. 151.

62) פין, ש. י. קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, Warsaw, 1886, p. 674.

63) ראטהשטיין, נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים, Königsberg, pp. 19–20, 36.

e. CANTARINI (יצחק חיים כהן מהחזנים, called יְחָקָ"ם)

64) תולדות גדולי איטַליאה, חנאל ניפי ומ. ש. גירונדי, Trieste, 1853, pp. 141–143, 154–156.

In addition to the information found there, the following is to be added: Cantarini was author of פַּחַד יִצְחָק (Amsterdam, 1685); of הַמְסָרוֹנָה, שָׁנָה ב' חוברת ב', הַשָּׁנוֹת עַל הַגָּהוֹת ר' אַלְיָהוּ בָּחוּר (see Jerusalem, 1887, pp. 61–63); of מִכְתָּבֵי יחכ"ם אֶל טַיאוֹפִיל אוֹנְגֶר (pub. by S. D. Luzzatto in אוֹצָר נֶחְמָד, III, 1860); of a dirge קִינָה עַל מוֹת הָרַב יְהוּדָה בריאל במנטובה (Ibid., pp. 148–149); and of a historical narrative entitled "עֵת קֵץ," (published in Zedner's *Auswahl Historischer Stücke*, Berlin, 1840).

65) Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 449.

66) Berliner's *Magazin*, VI, p. 181.

Gives date of Cantarini's death (1723), substantiated by

67) S. D. Luzzatto, אוֹצָר נֶחְמָד, III, p. 147.

According to a family tradition of the Cantarini's that S. D. Luzzatto had found, the exact date of Cantarini's death is ה' סיון התפ"ג.

68) Dr. Brann, *Monatsschrift*, XXX, p. 542.

Gives 1738 as the date of Cantarini's death, which is wrong. This date is important in order to establish the date of M. H. Luzzatto's dirge on the death of Cantarini.

f. JUDAH LEON DE MODENA

69) Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, Berlin, 1832, pp. IV–XIV.

Contains a verbal translation of a chapter on Cabballah from de Modena's book אַרְיֵי נוֹהֲם.

70) Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X, pp. 134–140, Leipsic, 1897.

71) יהוּדָה אריה מודינא, אַרְיֵי נוֹהֲם, נגד חכמת הקבלה ולומדיה, pub. by N. S Libovitz, Jerusalem, 1929.

g. JEKUTIEL

72) Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS.*, NNo. 2237, 1, 2, 3, and 2430. Jekutiel, Luzzatto's disciple, whose enthusiastic letter brought about the Luzzatto-persecution, was author of the following MSS., now in Oxford: 1) מַרְאֵה הַמּוּסָר, an ethical treatise; 2) סֵפֶר הַמְצָוות of which only part 4 exists, talmudic methodological treatise; 3) מַעֲשֶׂה עוֹלַת הָעוֹף, pilpulistic; 4) מַר יְנוּקָא וּמַר קְשִׁישָׁא, philosophical dispute; 5) יְקוּתִיאֵל וַיְל, תַּקָּנוֹת רַמְח"ל, statutes of study-circle, in collaboration with Luzzatto and Vali; 6) תְּפִלּוֹת בְּהֶעָרוֹת קַבָּלִיוֹת, cabbalistic prayers; 7) a poem in 84 verses, entitled שִׁיר מְסֻפָּר מַעֲשֶׂה זכרי לדור ודור וזה שמי יקותיאל בהחסיד מוהר"ר ליב מווילנא דאקטר דק"ק בריסק דליטא, signed as follows: אֶסְתֵּר.

73) יעבץ, תּוֹרַת הַקְּנָאוֹת, Lemberg, 1870, p. 117.
"... כי הניח ומח"ל שורש פורה ראש ולענה, הוא קוסיל רופא הכסיל הנ"ל שֶׁשָּׁמַשׁ אותו בטומאה יָשָׁנה, וזה זֶרַע חטאים בארץ ליטא לרוב ... כשהיה בשאלקאב, היה לו חברה רעה לומדים בחורים שלמדו אצלו קבלה, והיתה להם זונה נויה בחברותה שלהם משותפת לכולן". ... Ibid.

74) עמדן, עֲדוּת בְּיַעֲקֹב, Altona [1755?].
"... ע"ד האיש ר"ק ותיאל רופא, שהיה מקדמת דנא בק"ק שקלאב ... ואח"כ ... בק"ק בריסק, והיה אתו הכתבים מן הבחור חיים לוצאטו והיה נמשך אליו ללמוד ממנו ... הרב ר' אליה ... ועוד כמה אנשים הנלכדים עמו במצודה, וגם העתיקו ממנו כל הכתבים הנ"ל" — Ibid., דף ס"ח ע"ב.

75) פין, ש. י., קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה, Vilna 1860, pp. 104–105, 113–114.
According to a citation from בָּרַיְעָקֹב, there were in the library of יה"ש, in his collection אוֹצָר בָּלוּם, the following additional MSS. by Jekutiel: כְּלָלֵי הַתַּלְמוּד, סוּגְיוֹת הַתַּלְמוּד and בֵּאוּר לי"ג מִדּוֹת דר' יִשְׁמָעֵאל.

76) D. Kaufmann, *Contributions à la biographie de M. H. Luzzatto*, Revue, vol. 23, pp. 256–257. Prof. Kaufmann proves in this article conclusively that Jekutiel's second name was Gordon.

77) תּוֹלְדוֹת חַכְמֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, אריה ליב פרומקין, part II, Jerusalem, 1928, pp. 139–141.
The following autobiographic data, found in Oxford by Frumkin, are most interesting:

בהיותי עוד על ארץ מולדתי אשר כמעט כל גדולי ארץ השכימו על פתחי – – וגם חכמתי היא הכמת הרפואה עמדה לי, גם כי לא לחכמה ולא למלאכה חשבתיה– – ואני כאשר בינותי בחכמה הרעה הזאת מאסתיה, ואמרתי בלבי מתי אעשה גם אנכי לביתי, בית משכן נשמתי – – ואז נדרתי לעלות לארץ הקדושה, לשאוף אויר ארץ ישראל, אולי אמצא כפר לנפשי. ונשענתי על משענת הגביר הנדיב המפורסם כמו"ה שלמה רוקח, אשר הבטיחני לתת לי די פרנסתי, סך מסוים שנה בשנה די לא תעדי, ושלח לי ספרים רץ אחר רץ למהר נסיעתי, וכתב: „עיניך לא תחוס על כליך". ואני עשיתי כאשר צוני, ובזבזתי כל אשר לי במטלטלים ומכרתים בחצי שָׁוְיָם, וגם בית גדול מכרתי, ולא קבלתי המעשר מכדי שויו, ושמתי לדרך פעמי בהוצאות רבות. וחשבתי כי אמצא הכסף צרור באמתחת הגביר הנכבד, אך בבואי לא מצאתי את שאהבה נפשי, כי לקח אותו אלקים, וחיים לכל ישראל שבק, ולא ידעתי אנה אפנה, עד שרחם ה' ונתן בלב נדיבי וקציני עם ה', אשר חוברו יחדיו להחזיקני פה בבית המדרש הנקרא „אור תורה", אשר נתיסד ע"י הגביר המרומם הר"ש רוקח הנ"ל, והיה כל מבקש ה' יבוא ללמוד חנם אין כסף. והנה עברו עלי זה עשר שנים, ולא עלתה בידי לגדל תלמידים בעלי תורה, כי כאשר התחילו לציץ ציץ שושנת התורה, כבן י"נ י"ד יצאו החוצה לבַקש מְחְיָתָם" . . . Ibid.

j. Rabbi Joshua Heshel of Vilna

78) עמדן, תּוֹרַת הַקְּנָאוֹת, Lemberg, 1870, p. 92.

Text of Jekutiel's letter to R. Heshel concerning Luzzatto.

79) פין, ש. י. קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה, Vilna, 1860, p. 109.

80) דמביצר, כְּלִילַת יְפִי, II, Krakau, 1893, pp. 75, 338.

81) D. Kaufmann, *Ein Brief R. Benjamin Cohen Vitali's in Reggio*, *Monatsschrift*, 41 Jahrg., pp. 700–708.

k. Mordecai Jaffe Schloesinger (d. 1754)

82) ר' יונתן אייבשיץ, לוחות עֵדוּת, Altona, שיר"ה, 4°.

Jaffe writes to Eybenschütz:

וע"ד ששאל אם הרב ר' אליהו, בעל ברכת אליהו, כתב לכאן שנת ת"ץ שהחכם השלם כמוהר"ר משה חיים לוצאטו ז"ל הוא משיח, נבהלתי בקראי. מי הוא זה ואיזהו אשר מלאו לבו לשלוח לשונו בחיים ומתים – – כי הלא נודע לכל כל האגרת שנכתבו בזה מאיטליה ע"י הרופא ר' יקותיאל אלי כתב, ואני שלחתי העתקתן לרבני אשכנז . . . אז לגלות אזנם, ומעולם לא נשמע שיכנה עצמו משיח" Ibid., דף ט"ו ע"א.

83) עֲדוּת בְּיַעֲקֹב, יעבץ, Altona, [1755?].
דפוס אלטונא, כ"ו ע"ב; גם מ' ע"ב, בהערה.

84) L. Aug. Frankl, *Wiener Epitaphen*, No. 430.

l. Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz

85) תּוֹלְדוֹת חַכְמֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, אריה ליב פרומקין, part II, Jerusalem, 1928, pp. 124–134.—Excellent chapter. Contains biographic data and list of books written by Ḥagiz, the chief Luzzatto persecutor.

VI. LITERARY INFLUENCES

a. Italian Literature

86) Mrs. Vernon, *Italy from 1494 to 1790*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 443–450.

87) Prof. Antonio Cippico, *The Romantic Age in Italian Literature*, London, 1918, p. 8f.

88) Prof. Cesare Faligno, *Epochs of Italian Literature*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 26–38.

89) Hannay, *The Later Renaissance* (vol. 6 of Series "Periods of European Literature"), New York, 1898, p. 365ff.

90) Prof. L. Etienne, *Histoire de la Littérature Italienne*, Paris, 1884, pp. 437–441.

91) Guarini Giovanni Battista, *Il pastor Fido*, *The Faithful Shepherd*, English translation by Richard Fanshawe, 1648.

92) Abrahams, *By-paths in Hebraic Bookland*, Philadelphia, 1920 (chapter on "Guarini and Luzzatto"), pp. 122–128.

b. Hebrew Drama

93) Berliner, *Introduction to Moses Zakuta's first Hebrew drama* יְסוֹד עוֹלָם, Berlin, 1874.
Contains list of Hebrew dramas written before, and after, Luzzatto.

94) יוסף פינסו, אֲסִירֵי הַתִּקְוָה, Livorno, 1770.

95) Delitzsch, *Introduction to Luzzatto's drama* מִגְדַּל עֹז, Leipsic, 1837, pp. XXIV–XXXII.

96) Abrahams, *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 246f.

VII. SPECIAL REFERENCES TO WORKS OF LUZZATTO

a. To חוֹקֵר וּמְקַבֵּל.

97) Dr. M. S. Freystadt, *Introduction to* חוֹקֵר וּמְקַבֵּל, Königsberg, 1840.

98) ביאור על ס' חוקר ומקובל לרמח"ל, נשמח"ם שלמה מרדכי, Place and date of publication not indicated, 4°.

b. To מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים

99) Dr. J. Wohlgemuth, *Einleitung zu* מְסִלַּת יְשָׁרִים (with German translation), Berlin, 1906.

100) S. Dubnow, M. H. Luzzatto, *Voskhod*, 1887, book VI, pp. 105–106.

101) אברהם כהנא, רמח"ל, pub. by "תּוּשִׁיָּה," Warsaw, 1899. Analysis of the book as compared with hassidism. Pp. 55–56.

c. To לְשׁוֹן לְמוּדִים

102) מ. ש. גירונדי, מִכְתָּב עַל מַעֲלַת סֵפֶר לְשׁוֹן לְמוּדִים לְרַמְחַ"ל, pub. in צְפִירַת תִּפְאָרֶת by Letteris, Nos. 7–9, pp. 29–31.

103) אלמנצי, תּוֹלְדוֹת רמח"ל, in כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, p. 127.

104) Dukes, Ehrensäulen und Denksteine, Wien 1837, pp. 56–57.

d. To מַעֲשֶׂה שְׁמְשׁוֹן

105) ד"ר ש. נינצבורג, Introduction to Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת Tel-Aviv, 1927, pp. VII–XII. S. also Introduction to Luzzatto's מַעֲשֶׂה שְׁמְשׁוֹן, Tel-Aviv, 1927.

c. To מִגְדַּל עֹז

106) אלמנצי, תּוֹלְדוֹת רמח"ל, in כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, III, p. 135.

Almanzi states the history of the MS. of this drama as follows: כ"י זה קבל מהר' ישראל בנימין באסאן (שלכבוד חתונתו נכתב) תלמידו ר' אלחנן חי כהן, ומיורשיו קנה אותו איש אחד פלוני מוכר ספרים . . . ומכר הספר בהונגרן תחת הדפיסו כאשר הבטיח . . . לולי הרב כהן הותיר לנו העתק אחר – – כמעט זכרו אבד מני ארץ. Ibid.

107) Franz Delitzsch, *Introduction to* מִגְדַּל עֹז, Leipsic, 1837, pp.V, XXIII.

108) Prof. Fleischer, On the drama מִגְדַּל עֹז, Gersdorf's *Repertorium der Gesammten Literatur*, Leipsic, 1839, vol. 19, pp. 140–145.

Scathing criticism of the drama, which Prof. Fleischer considers a "plagiarism."

109) *Algemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1838, No. 116.

Report of a lecture delivered by Prof. Lengerke on מִגְדַּל עֹז which he translated into German. Was it ever published?

110) אברהם יעקב פאפירנא, הַדְרַאמָה בְּכְלַל וְהָעִבְרִית בִּפְרָט, Odessa, 1868.

111) שטיינברג, י. שׁ. עַיִן מִשְׁפָּט, Vilna, 1868, p. 7.

112) S. Dubnow, M. H. Luzzatto, *Voskhod*, 1887, book V, pp. 112–114.

Excellent analysis.

113) אברהם כהנא, משה חיים לוצאטו, Warsaw, 1899, p. 10.

Kahan Mentions MS. of מִגְדַּל עֹז, found in Prague. This was probably the one lost (see above No. 106).

114) I. Landman, *Luzzatto, Year Book, Central Conference American Rabbis*, vol. 17, 1907, p. 203.

115) פ. לַחוֹבֶר, מְשָׁל הַמִּגְדָּל, in "כְּתוּבִים" No 19 (כ"ו טבת תרפ"ז) Tel-Aviv, 1927.

116) ש. גינצבורג, ד"ר, *Introduction to Luzzatto's* סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, Tel-Aviv, 1927, pp. XIII–XVII.

S. also Introduction to Luzzatto's מִגְדַּל עֹז, pub. by Dvir, Tel-Aviv, 1927.

f. To לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה

117) Delitzsch, *Introduction to* מִגְדָּל עֹז, Leipsic, 1837, p. XVII.

118) Delitzsch, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, Leipsic, 1836, pp. 88, 91, 93, 173.

119) שלום הכהן, הקדמה ל„עָמָל וְתַרְצָה", Redlheim, 1812.

120) שלמה דובנא, הקדמה להוצאה שניה של „לישרים תהלה", in Martinet's תִּפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל, Bamberg, 1837, pp. 325–327.

„ספר נפלא להלל מאד -- הדפיסו המחבר בחייו באמשטרדם -- ולא הוציאו ממנו רק חמשים ספרים, ולא הובאו כי אם אל אוצרות הגבירים הספרדים".

Ibid.

121) ח. פוֹלַאק, חֵקֶר הַמְּחָקָר הַמְּתֻבּוֹדָד, (באור דברי „המחקר המתבודד" ב„לישרים תהלה") in הַמְּבַשֵּׂר לְנַלִּיצִיוֹן, vol. I, 1861, No. 9, also in הַצְּפִירָה, vol. 24, 1897, No. 145.

122) א. י. פאפירנא, הדרמה בכלל והעברית בפרט, Odessa, 1868.

123) יהושע שטיינברג, עֵין מִשְׁפָּט, Vilna, 1868.

124) שלום פרידמאן, וְאָדָם הַכֹּהֵן, תּוֹכַחְתִּי לַבְּקָרִים, Vilna, 1868, pp. 6–7.

125) Coen, *Saggio d'eloquenza Ebrea*, Firenze, 1827, p. 63.

126) Isaacs, *A modern Hebrew Poet*, New York, 1878, p. 37.

127) S. Dubnow, M. H. Luzzatto, *Voskhod*, 1887, book VI, pp. 101–102.

128) ד"ר נחום סלושץ, קורות הספרות העברית החדשה, Warsaw, 1905, pp. 19–21.

129) בר טוביה, בראשית ספרותנו החדשה, in הַשַּׁלַּח, vol. 16, pp. 19–21.

130) Waldstein, *The Evolution of Modern Hebrew Literature*, New York, 1916, pp. 42–43.

Parallel drawn between לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה and Lebensohn's אֱמֶת וֶאֱמוּנָה.

131) Goldstein-Fischel, Preface to English prose-translation of לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה, New York, 1915.

132) ד"ר ש. גינצבורג, Introduction to Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, Tel-Aviv, 1927, pp. XVII–XXI.

S. also Introduction to Luzzatto's לַיְשָׁרִים תְּהִלָּה, pub. by Dvir, Tel-Aviv, 1928.

g. To Luzzatto's Lyrics

133) Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 449.

134) Coen, *Saggio d'eloquenza Ebrea*, Firenze 1827, p. 75. With reference to Luzzatto's collection חֲנוּכַּת הָאָרוֹן.

135) S. J. Halberstam, Sur les Poésies de M. H. Luzzatto, *Revue des Ètu Juives*, vol. 39, 1899, pp. 317–318.

136) Prof. D. Kaufmann, Poésies de M. H. Luzzatto, *Revue*, vol. 39, 1899, pp. 133–136.

136a) ד"ר ש. ברנשטיין, שיר בלתי נודע לר' מ. ח. לוצאטו, pub. in "הַדֹּאַר," vol. 9, No .17, New York, 1929.

j. To Luzzatto's Meter

137) F. Delitzsch, *Hebräishe poesie*, Leipsic, 1836, pp. 69, 87, 174.

138) Delitzsch, Introduction to מִגְדָּל עֹז, Leipsic, 1837, pp. XXI–XXXV.

139) ד"ר ש. גינצבורג, Introduction to Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, Tel-Aviv, 1927, pp. XXI–XXIV.

k. To Luzzatto's use of Echo

140) D. Kaufmann, *Echogedichte*, Z. f. H. B., vol. I, p. 22.

141) Blau, Leo Modenas *Briefe und Schriftstücke*, p. 20.

141a) Colby, Elbridge, The echo-device in literature, *New York Public Library Bulletin*, New York, 1919, vol. 23, pp. 683–713, 783–804.

VIII. GENERAL APPRECIATIONS OF LUZZATTO

142) S. D. Luzzatto, *Autobiographie*, deutsch, von M. Grünwald, Padua, 1882, pp. 18–20

143) Zedner, *Auswahl Historischen Stücke*, 1840, 8°, pp. 276, 375.

144) Karpeles, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1909, vol. II, pp. 283–285.

145) קוֹרוֹת הַסִּפְרוּת הָעִבְרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה, ד"ר נחום־סלושץ, Warsaw, 1905, pp. 16–22.

146) בְּרֵאשִׁית סִפְרוּתֵנוּ הַחֲדָשָׁה, בר טוביה, in הַשִּׁלֹחַ vol. 16.
„משעה שניתנה תהילת „ברכי נפשי" לא היתה לשירה העברית שירת־טבע כשירת־הטבע של רמח"ל" (referring to the lyrical monologue of מְחֻקָּר מִתְבּוֹדֵד in the drama לְיִשְׁרִים תְּהִלָּה). Ibid.

147) שמחוני, על שד"ל (ורמח"ל), in הַצְּפִירָה, Warsaw, 1916 (תרע"ו), Nos. 150, 151, 152 (on Moses Hayyim Luzzatto in particular), 154, 156, 158, 159, 160.
(This reference was furnished by Mr. Isaac Rivkind. See above No. 46).

148) יעקב רבינוביץ, תּוֹלְדוֹת הַסִּפְרוּת הָעִבְרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה, in הַפּוֹעֵל הַצָּעִיר, Tel-Aviv, 1918 (תרע"ט), Nos. 1, 25, 26.

149) ח. טביוב, י., מִבְחַר הַסִּפְרוּת, part 2, Warsaw, 1899, p. 1.

150) שלום שטרייט, ר' משה חיים לוצאטו, in "מַעְבָּרוֹת", vol. I, pp. 530–534. Also in book בַּעֲלוֹת הַשַּׁחַר by the same author, Tel Aviv, 1927, pp. 5–14.

151) שלום שטרייט, רַמְחַ"ל בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל, in book בַּעֲלוֹת הַשַּׁחַר, Tel Aviv, 1927, pp. 15–23.
Fantastic description of Luzzatto's first impressions in Palestine.

152) פ. לַחוֹבֶר, תולדות הספרות העברית החדשה, Tel Aviv, 1928, Ch. II.

153) ח. נ. ביאליק, הַבְחוּר מִפַּאדוּבָה (לצאת ספר המחזות לרמח"ל), in הַפּוֹעֵל הַצָּעִיר, vol. 21, Tel Aviv, 1928, Nos. 23–24 (גליון־פסח).

154) Shalom Spiegel, Rabbi M. Ch. Luzzatto, the *S. A. J. Review*, pub. by the Society for Advancement of Judaism, vol. 8, New York, 1929, Nos. 19, 20.

155) שלום שפיגל, לְבִקּוֹרֶת דְּמוּתוֹ שֶׁל רַמְחַ"ל, ד"ר, in שְׁבִילֵי הַחִנּוּךְ, vol. 4, New York, 1929, No. 9, pp. 539–550.
While being a review of Luzzatto's סֵפֶר הַמַּחֲזוֹת, there is a different evaluation of Luzzatto's work.

156) Joseph Marcus, M. H. Luzzatto's Sefer Hamahzot, reprint from the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1929, vol. XIX, pp. 501–504.

157) ד"ר מאיר וואכסמאן, "ספר המחזות", review of Luzzatto's vol. of dramas, pub. in הַדֹּאַר, vol. 9, No. 13, New York, 1929.

IX. *General references to Luzzatto.*

158) הַקְדָּמָה לְסֵפֶר „דֶּרֶךְ חָכְמָה" שֶׁל רַמְחַ"ל, דוד פראנקו מינדיס, Amsterdam, 1783. „המקובל האלהי, תפארת המליצים ועטרת הפייטנים, ידו בכל שבע החכמות החפשיות כמוהר"ר מח"ל – – משה זכה ויכה את הרבים – – טוב לי כי זכיתי ליצוק מים על ידיו". Ibid.

159) מכתב שלישי, דף ע"ח ע"ב, נפתלי הירץ וויזל, דִּבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם וֶאֱמֶת, Berlin, 1784. „מאיר עיני ישראל הוא הרמב"ם ז"ל ראו מה דברו עליו יריביו, וקרוב לדורנו מה קרה להרב ר' משה חיים לוצאטו ז"ל. ספרו מסלת ישרים יעיד על תומתו". Ibid.

160) P. Beer, *Geschichte der Religiösen Secten*, vol. II, Brünn, 1823, pp. 300–303.

161) Etheridge, *Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, pp. 392–393.

162) פירוש והערות לס' בחינת הדת לר' אליהו ריל מדינו, י. ש. ריגייו, Wien, 1833. Mentions MS. of Luzzatto's תקונים חדשים in his possession. This is probably the one in Oxford at present. (See above II, No. 57).

163) Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, VIII, Berlin, 1820–47, pp. 126–127. "[Luzzatto trieb seine Gaukeleien mit der grössten Unverschämtheit]." Ibid., p. 127. See also *Geschichte*, II, p. 469.

164) *Zeitschrift*, Geiger, 1837, p. 336.

165) *Orient. Litteraturblatt*, 1845, p. 262.

166) Landshuth, עַמּוּדֵי הָעֲבוֹדָה, II, Berlin. 1857, p. 222.

167) תולדות יעב"ץ, א"ח וואגנר, p. 30.

168) מגיד משנה, דוד גאָרדאָן, vol. I, No. 9.

169) Martinet, תַּפְאֶרֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Hebräishe Chrestomatie*, Bomberg, 1837, p. 340.

170) כְּבוֹד שְׁפַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ וְתִפְאַרְתָּהּ, יהושע שטיינברג, in הַמַּגִּיד, vol. 4, 1860, No. 3, p. 9. Refers to Luzzatto as follows: "לוצאטו, אביר שפת עבר ומנצח בנגינותיה."

171) תּוֹלְדוֹת אַיְבָּעֻנְשִׁיץ, ד"ר יצחק הלוי נאסטפריינד, in מַגִּיד מִשְׁנָה, vol. I, 1879, No. 9.

172) תולדות הספרות העברית החדשה, ד"ר יוסף קלוזנר, Jerusalem, 1920, פרק א.

173) דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים, ש. ברנפלד, Warsaw, 1899, p. 522.

174) משה דוד נאון, יְהוּדֵי הַמִּזְרָח בְּא"י בָּעָבָר וּבַהֹוֶוה, vol. I, (תולדות, זכרונות, תעודות, עובדות, רשמים, ציונים ומספרים), Jerusalem, 1928. IV+292 pp. Contains, among others, some selections from M. H. Luzzatto. See review in "הָעוֹלָם," London, 1929, No. 23.

175) שאול טשרניחובסקי, עמנואל הרומי, Berlin, 1925, p. 136.

176) יצחק ריבקינד, מסייעו של וייזל במלחמת ההשכלה, אליה מורפורגו, הוצאה מיוחדת, Vienna, 1930, p. 156 [19].

APPENDIX

Selected Hebrew Documents

Introductory Note

The following eight original documents, appertaining to Luzzatto's life and cabbalistic activities, have been taken almost at random from a collection of more than 135 letters and documents, most of which have never been fully known. When these are published, as it is hoped they will be, Luzzatto's period will be revealed to the modern reader more clearly and more fully. Meanwhile a few of them are selected for publication here, as containing some items of special interest to the historical reader.

Document No. 1 contains the Statutes and Regulations of the Study Circle, formed by Luzzatto and his disciples. This has been a bibliographic rarity, and Isaacs in his short *Life of Luzzatto* had only some extracts translated into English and given in the Appendix to his book. These Statutes reveal to us most clearly Luzzatto's hopes and aspirations at that particular time, and guesses, about his messianic leanings, are no longer possible. Which may be said also of Document No. 2, wherein Luzzatto himself tells Rabbi Benjamin Cohen of Reggio the secret of the heavenly maggid having appeared to him, and describes the manner of his revelation in a most illuminating way.

Documents Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 tell almost the complete story of the Luzzatto persecution and the excommunication of all his writings. It begins with a letter from Rabbi Moses Ḥagiz, the chief instigator of the persecution, and R. Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen of Hamburg against Luzzatto, which is followed by declarations and signatures of almost all the outstanding figures in the rabbinic world of the period. These letters are important particularly as revealing the ways and channels by which the chief countries of the Diaspora were united, and how this unity found its expression in times of need. But as one of Luzzatto's biographers denied the fact of the excommunication altogether, stating that the *herem* was nothing more than a legend, these documents establish the truth beyond any possibility of further doubt.

The last document No. 8, a letter of rabbi Jacob Cohen of Frankfort-on-Main to Ḥagiz, clears up the mystery of the box of Luzzatto's cabbalistic writings, which were taken away from him by the rabbis never to be returned to the author. Some of the historians, among them Jost, supposed they were returned to Luzzatto secretly by his admirers. The fate of these writings is clearly told in this letter, and thus the suspicion against Luzzatto's teacher, rabbi Isaiah Bassan, is finally allayed and his memory vindicated.

LIST OF CONTENTS

1. Statutes and Regulations of Luzzatto's Study Circle.
2. Luzzatto to Rabbi Benjamin Cohen Vitali of Reggio.
3. Rabbis Ḥagiz and Katzenellenbogen against Luzzatto.
4. Rabbi Ḥagiz to the Rabbis of Venetia, supported by a number of Rabbis, against Luzzatto.
5. More Rabbis against Luzzatto.
6. Full text of the *herem* against Luzzatto's writings.
7. The Rabbis of Venetia to all the Jewish Communities of Italy.
8. Rabbi Jacob Cohen to Ḥagiz.

1. STATUTES AND REGULATIONS OF LUZZATTO'S STUDY-CIRCLE

בהנוא[1]

אלה דברי הברית החוקים המשפטים והתורות אשר קבלו עליהם החבירים הקדושים אשר באו על החתום לקיים עליהם לשם יחוד קו"ש כולם יבכש"ב[2] כי נעשו כלם להיות כאיש א' לעבוד את העבודה הזאת עבודת ה' להחשב א' מהם ככלם לכל העבודה הזאת וזה אשר קבלו עליהם:

ראשונה: לקבוע למוד תמידי אשר לא יפסיק בבה"ת הקדוש הזה בס' הזוהר הקדוש ללמוד כל איש מהם חלקו זא"ז מאחר תחלת הבוקר ועד עת תפלת מנחת הערב כל הימים תמיד חוץ משבת י"ט ופורים ט' באב וערב ט' באב ומע"ש מחצות היום והלאה לפי התנאים אשר התנו בלימוד הזה לפני ה':—

א' שלא יהיה הלימוד הזה עליהם נדר, דהיינו שלא להתכשל ח"ו בעון נדרים אבל יהיה עליהם בכל תוקף וחומר גדול שיוכל לדבר ולב להרהר:

ב' שלא יפסיק הלמוד כלל אלא בבא א' למלא מקום חברו. יתחיל הב' הבא טרם יפסיק הראשון למען לא יפסיק הלימוד כלל:

ג' שאם אחד מהחבירים ילך בדרך רחוקה או קרובה חביריו הנשארים ישלימו בעדו ויחשב לו כאלו היה גם הוא עמהם:

ד' שלא יהיה הלימוד הזה לא ע"מ לקבל פרס בשום צד ציפוי שכר או לשום צד מחשבה ופניה אחרת חלילה כ"א רק לתיקון השכינה הקדושה ולתיקון כל ישראל עם ה' לעשות נחת רוח ליוצרם ולא יהיה להם שכר מזה כ"א לזכות לעשות עוד תיקונים כאלה וכאלה ליחוד קו"ש ולתיקון כל ישראל:

ה' שאם ח"ו איזה אונס או טעות או שכחה יארע להפסיק הלימוד הזה באיזה צד שיהיה לא יעשה הפסק זה שום רושם רע לא למעלה ולא למטה כלל ועיקר ויהיה מעשיהם בלימוד הזה רק לתקן ולא לעוות כלל ועיקר:

ו' שיוכלו לצרף ללימוד הזה הלימוד הכללי של כמוהר"ר משה חיים רבם נר"ו הלימוד שהוא לומד בישיבה בחצי היום:

ז' שיוכלו כל א' מהחבירים לזכות לפעמים גם לאחר אשר לא מכלל החברה הקדושה הוא שיוכל ללמוד במקומו בשעתו ויחשב כאלו למד א' מן החבירים הקדושים עצמם:

ח' קבלו עליהם לחבר ג"כ יום בלילה בלימוד הזה:

[1] בעזרת ה' נעשה ונצליח אמן.
[2] יפתח בדורו כשמואל בדורו.

ט' שלא יחשב הלימוד הזה לשום א' מהחבירים לתיקון פרטי אפי' לכפרת עוונות, רק תהיה בו הכונה שלימה לגמרי לתיקון השכינה הקדושה ולתיקון כל ישראל:

י' שלא יהיה שום זמן קבוע לשום א' מהחבירים ללימוד הזה אלא כל א' יבוא ככל אות נפשו בזמן שיהיה ביכלתו:

ויהיו החתומים כורתי אמונה על הברית הזה

כ' ישראל חזקיה בכמ"ר מיכל טריוויס, כ' יצחק בכמוהר"ר שבתי מריני, כמהח"ר יקותיאל בכמוהר"ר יהודה ליב מוילנא, כמהח"ר יעקב ישראל בכמהח"ר אברהם חזק, כ' שלמה בכמ"ר אברהם דינה, כ' מיכל בכמ"ר גד טירני, כ' יעקב חיים בכמ"ר אשר קאסטיל פראנקו:

ואלה אשר נוספו ובאו להסתפח בנחלת ה' מוסיפים על הראשונים לעבוד עבודת ה' באמת ובלבב שלם וזה אשר קבלו עליהם:

א' לעבוד עבודתם לפני ה' באמת ובתמים ובאהבה שלימה בלא שום ציפוי שכר לעצמם כלל ועיקר כ"א לתיקון השכינה הקדושה ולתיקון כל ישראל וכל שכר מצוותיהם ומעשיהם הטובים נתנו במתנה לכללות כל ישראל ולגמול חסד עם השכינה הקדושה ולעשות נחת רוח ליוצרם:

ב' עשו את עצמם כלם כאיש א' להיות עובדים עבודה תמה ונקיה לפני בוראם עד שכל איש מהם אשר יעשה מצוה א' כאלו נעשית מיד כלם תחשב לתיקון השכינה הקדושה, אך לא שום חטא ועון אשר יחטא א' מהם ח"ו כי זה לא יחשב לחברתם כלל וכלל. רק לתקן תהיה חברתם ולא לעוות כלל ועיקר:

ג' קבלו עליהם לאהוב איש את אחיו ולהתנהג באחוה ולב טוב ולקבל איש תוכחת חבירו באהבה רבה בלא שום כעס וכ"ש שנאה אלא באהבה ובשלום לרצון להם לפני ה':

ד' קבלו עליהם להיות כל הדברים הנודעים להם מן המדרש הקדוש הזה חוץ מד"ת כלם בתורת סוד חתום שלא לגלות כלל אלא ברשות כמהור"ר רבם:

ה' להשתדל כלם לבוא ללימוד הזוהר בכל יום בשעה שיוכלו:

ו' שיהיה חיוב לכלם להמצא, חוץ מאונס, בכל יום ש"ק אחר תפלת המנחה בבה"ת הקדוש הזה בשעת הלימוד של כמוהר"ר רבם נ"י:

ז' להתחזק בעבודתם לפני ה' לבלתי חוש לשום לעג וצחוק שבעולם:

ח' קבלו עליהם אם יצטרכו החבירים הקדושים החתומים ראשונה לעשות איזה דבר סתר בבה"ת אשר לא ניתן לגלות להם, יצאו משם בלא תרעומות כלל:

ט' שכל מי שירצה לבוא להצטרף עמהם אח"כ, יהיה כא' מהם בכל התנאים אשר נתפרשו עד כה:

י' לשמור פיהם ולשונם מכל דבר רע ולהתנהג בכובד ראש ובמורא גדול מפני השכינה הקדושה בכל צרכיהם ועסקיהם שלא לזלזל בשום חומרא ומנהג ישראל ח"ו אלא לעשות משמרת למשמרת להיות נקיים לפני ה' אלקי ישראל:—

ויהיו החתומים אשר חתמו על כל זאת

כמהח"ר יקותיאל בן החסיד כמוהר"ר יהודה ליב מוילנא, כמהח"ר ישעיה בכ' יוסף, כ' ישעיה בכ' אברהם, כ' מרדכי בכ' רפאל, כ' שלמה בכ' שמואל, כ' משה בכ' מיכל, כ' אברהם בכ' יעקב, כ' יצחק חיים בכ' יעקב יצחק כ"ץ, כ' שמעון חי בכ' יעקב חי, כ' מרדכי בכ' בן ציון:

וזה משפט הבה"ת הקדוש הזה

זה המשפט אשר קבלו עליהם שלא לדבר שום דבר שאינו ד"ת על השלחן הקדוש אשר ללימוד כמוהר"ר מ"ח רבם נר"י. ואפי' בכל שאר בה"ת בהגיע זמן הלימוד לא יוכלו להתמהמה בדיבורים אלא ישבו על השלחן באימה וביראה ברתת ובזיע, וכ' ישראל בכ' מיכל, א' מן החבירים אשר נבחר לכך, יאמר בקול: תנו כבוד לה' אלקי ישראל ומיד יכופו החבירים הקדושים את ראשם ולא יוציאו עוד שום מלה מפיהם, ואפי' אם הם באמצע דיבור יחויבו להפסיק דיבורם ולשתוק באימה רבה. וגם שלא בשעת הלימוד וחוץ מן השלחן, אם ירבו החבירים דברים בטילים הרבה, יהיה הרשות ביד כמהח"ר יקותיאל לרמוז אל כ' ישראל, ויאמר כ' ישראל: תנו כבוד לה' אלקי ישראל, ומיד יחויב לשתוק. וכן אם ח"ו דברי מחלוקת היו נמשכים בין החבירים אפי' חוץ מבה"ת, יכול הוא להשתיק את חבירו באמור לו: תן כבוד לה' אלקי ישראל, ויחויב חבירו לשתוק. ושאר משפטי השתיקה הלא הם כתובים על ס' הברית אשר חתמו בכתב ידם:

ועוד הוסיפו קדושה על קדושתם שלא ידובר בכל הבה"ת הקדוש הזה שום דבר בטל כלל ועיקר, ושאר המשפטים אשר קבלו עליהם. וזה אשר קבלו עליהם:

בבוא כל איש לבה"ת הקדוש הזה, זאת תהיה מלת שלומו אשר יאמר בכפיפת ראשו: יהי כבוד ה' לעולם וכו', והיושבים בבה"ת יענוהו: יהי שם ה' מבורך וכו'. ובצאת איש מבה"ת ילך לאחריו ויאמר: ברוך ה' מציון וכו'. ובבוא כמהר"ר משה חיים רבם נר"י יאמר: יהי ה' אלקינו עמנו וכו', ואשר בבה"ת ישיבו: ה' עוז לעמו יתן וכו'. ובשבת כמוהר"ר מ"ח רבם נר"י על שלחנו יאמר: רם על כל גויים ה' וכו', וישיבו החבירים: מי כה' אלקינו וכו' המשפילי וכו'.

אז יאמר כ"מ ישראל: תנו כבוד לה' אלקי ישראל ומיד יכפו החבירים את ראשם וישתיקו עצמם ללימוד באימה וביראה ברתת ובזיע לפני השכינה הקדושה: אז יאמר כמהר"ר רי"ק לכל החבירים הקדושים: שימו לבבכם וכו'.

וכן קבלו עליהם שלא להרים קול בבה"ת הקדוש הזה אפי' במה שמותר לדבר חוץ מפלפול הגמרא.

וכן קבלו עליהם שלא לעשות שום דבר בבה"ת הקדוש הזה כ"א ברשות כמוהר"ר מ"ח רבם נר"י:

וזה אשר הוסיפו לקיים על נפשם אחרי כן כל החבירים הקדושים הראשונים והשניים קימו וקבלו לישמר מכל דבר שקר הרחק מאד ולהשתדל להיות מוצא שפתם רק אמת לעולם אשר אם יאמר איש לא' מהם אמור אמת יהיה עליהם חמור כשבועה היותר חמורה שבעולם.

ועוד קבלו עליהם לומר א' מן החבירים עשרת הדברות ואח"כ תרי"ג מצות בכל יום, ואח"כ במה יזכה נער כו' עד הסוף.

ועוד קבלו עליהם להשלים כל המקרא תנ"ך ומהם ישלימו כל הש"ס משנה ג"כ בכל חדש.

ועוד קבלו עליהם לעשר הימים בתענית לפני ה', העשירי יהיה קדש להתענות בו א' מן החבירים ואחריו הב' ואחריו הג' וכן כלם חוזרת תמיד לסיבוב כל הימים.

ועוד קבלו עליהם לעשות התרת נויפה והתרת קללות בכל חדש.

ועוד הוסיפו בלימוד התמידי של הזהר הקדוש ללמוד כל היום כלו ועד שש שעות בלילה, חוץ מן הלילות אשר ממוצאי כפור עד אחר אסרו חג של סוכות ומשתי לילות י"ד וט"ו דאדר שני ומליל בדיקת חמץ, וכל הלילות עד אחר א"ח של חג המצות ומליל ערב חג השבועות ולילי שבועות וא"ח שלו ומליל אחר התענית י"ז תמוז ומליל קודם התענית וליל אחר התענית דט' באב ומליל י"כ, וחוץ ממה שיצטרך להוראת שעה שזה ישאר ביד כמוהר"ר מ"ח רבם נר"י. וכל אשר קבלו עליהם קבלו ע"מ הכל לתקן ולא לעוות כלל וכלל, כ"א החוטא ישא עונו ושום פגם לא יעשה בקדושה כלל ועיקר. וכן הוסיפו שלא לפסוק מן הלימוד של הזהר אפי' בזמן הלימוד הכללי של כמוהר"ר מ"ח

עד הנה עזרם ה' אל יעזבם ואל ישפם לעד עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים כדבר שנא' כי אז אהפוך לעמים שפה ברורה לקרוא כלם בשם ה' ולעבדו שכם אחד והיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה

ה' אחד ושמו

אחד

ואלה זמני הקבע לתורה ולעבודה אשר הוקבעו במדרש הקדוש הזה

בכל לילה יפיסו בין החבירים ללמוד: ד' מהם ביום ההוא בג' שעות ביום שעה י"נ ושעה י"ח ושעה כ"ד רביע שעה לא'. וזה אשר ילמדו: הא' בשבת מספר בראשית מה שיוכלו ללמוד בשעה ההיא, ובשאר ימי השבוע יקראו מעשה הקרבנות כלו ואח"כ יחזרו לראשם עד נמר השעה, ובימי טבת הקצרים לא ילמדו אלא שעה י"ח ושעה כ"ד, אך ע"ש לא ילמדו שעה כ"ד לעולם.

ובזמן הלימוד של חצי היום יעמדו ד' הזוכים בפייס על ד' זויות השלחן לומר השירים המוכנים להם לזמן ההוא, וג' אחרים יעמדו אצל הד' האלה המוכנים להם ג"כ כל אחד על מקומו.

בליל ש"ק אחר תפלת ערבית יתקבצו ג"כ ללמוד.

ומקומות הוקבעו לכל החבירים להיות קובעים מקום לתורתם, איש לא יזוז ממנו.

2. LUZZATTO TO R. BENJAMIN COHEN VITALI OF REGGIO

מקור מים חיים מעין מבית ה' קדש מוצאו רבא אלנא ותקיף מלאך ה' צבאות הוא נר"ו.

בוחן לבות וכליות אלקים צדיק עדי בשמים ושהדי במרומים על מה ועל מה הסתרתי מכ"ת דבר צפנתי בלבי מאז זכיתי להקביל פני קדשו כראות פני אלקים, כי רק מבלי חפצי לגלות הדבר הזה נמנעתי אחור, ועתה אשר כבר נתפרסם הדבר כאשר דבר ה' כי הוא אמר ויהי צוה ויעמוד, שמחתי מאד בשמעי אשר הניעו דברים לאזניו על יד איש חכם כמלאך אלקים מ"ו כמוהר"ר חתנו נר"ו ושמחה על שמחה הגדילה לי בראותי אשר כ"ת כמשפט לרוח טובתו ולישר דעתו לקח דברים לאמתם ולתומתם ועתה אדוני חי נפשי כי רצתה רוחי עד מאד לראות פניו פני קדוש אמנם נמנע ממני הדבר עד זמן היריד הע"ל[3] כי אז אבא ואשתחוה לפני הדרת כ"ת אם ירצה ה' כי הנה עתה אשר ת"ל נגלו הדברים כלם כי היו עד עתה סתומים וחתומים בלבד החברים ה"י[4] הנה שבח לאלקי ישראל מרבים העם לשוב מעון ולדרוש את דבר ה' ואלי יאספו כל חרד דבר יום ביומו לשמוע חידושים כאשר יודיע ה' אלי ובחורים מעם אשר עד הנה הלכו אחרי הבלי הילדות והשחרות הנה ב"ה נטו מדרך הרעה לשוב אל ה' ובאים ולוקחים תיקונים איש איש ממעשיו אשר עשה, ועתה הנה תמול בואם והיום אעזבם ללכת אל ארץ אחרת לא יתכן הדבר כי צריך אני להחזיק בם עד נטוע ועד הכון רגלם בדרך ה' כאשר אנכי מקוה, זאת ועוד אחרת שאי אפשר לסמוך על הנס להביא אתי את ספרי מפני סכנת החקירה, אמנם ליקר נפש כ"ת אשר יקרה מאד מוכרח אני לגלות לו מסתרי אלקים כאשר הורשיתי וכאשר יוכל המכתב שאת ויראה ויבין עין שכלו הקר והטהור עומק הדברים אשר עמקו מחשבות ה'.

כאשר פתוח לרוחה היה פתח ההשפעה בהיות בה"מ קיים כן נסתם בזמן חרבנו ולקחה הס"א כח ככח אשר לקחה אל פי חטאי אבותינו אשר חטאו, ומאותה השנה גלגולי דברים נתגלגלו למעלה לפי המדרגות הצריכות להתקן וכל יום מאור חדש הוא

[3] העתיד לבא.
[4] ה' ישמרם.

ולפי טבע המאור ההוא ולפי הפגם הנפגם בו ולפי התיקון הפרטי הצריך לו כך נמשכו דברים למטה בעה"ז וכמה תקונים נתקנו לישראל בזמן גלותם הלא המה תיקון המשנה תיקון הגמרא תיקון המדרשים שכלם הם תיקונים פרטים כלם צריכים איש בזמנו דוקא והם נעשים בזמן שבו הגיעה להאיר מדריגה אחת שבה תלוי התיקון ההוא ליתקן. אך תיקון הזוהר הוא העולה על כלם, והנה סודו הוא הוא הפנימיות עצמו כי כל הפשט בחיצוניות הוא וכאשר כל ההנהגה עיקרו בפנימיות ע"כ עיקר התיקונים הוא הזוהר. ויותר בפרט אבאר הדבר, כי הזוהר הוא דוקא בחי' הטפה היוצאת מן היסוד וע"כ נקרא זוהר הרקיע, וכבר נודע שכל ההנהגה ע"י הזיווג היא וכלה נכללת בהשפעת הטפה והנה כשיהיה זכות שהטפה הזאת תגיע בחינתה עד למטה בעולם השפל הנה כל הדברים יהיו מתתקנים על ידי תיקון גדול כי בה נעשה הכל לכל הצדדין. והנה זכה רשב"י להיות הכלי האמצעי להמשיך תיקון זה ועשה הזוהר. אבל האמת שלא יצא אלא חלק א' אור מאותה הבחינה וזה לצורך זה שיקיים ישראל וכל העולם בזמן הגלות אך התיקון האמיתי הוא שיהיה ענין זה קיים תמיד שלא יפסק כי כן ההשפעה תצא חדשה בסוד חדשים לבקרים כי זה סוד המן הבא בוכות משה שהוא כללות כל הס"ר[5] וממשיך השפעת הזיווג בכח כלם כאחד. והנה אחרי הרשב"י ע"ה חזרה הס"א וסיתמה כי לא היה תיקון אלא לשעה וסוד הענין כי התיקונים הנעשים לפי ההכנה שנשלמה במקבלים זה יעמוד כי ימשך מכח היות הדברים בהקבלתם כראוי אבל יש פעמים שלפי המדריגה המתעוררת תתגבר הארה העליונה ומבלי הכנת התחתונים תתגבר ותעבור ותעשה הדבר ההוא ואז לא תעמוד הרבה כי תסתלק אח"כ אלא שתיקונה ישמר לימים ארוכים להגלות והאות ע"ז נדלות יציאת מצרים. וע"כ אחר רשב"י נסתמו הדברים ואח"כ בהגיע מדריגות הארות להאיר נראו תיקונים אחרים עד שבא האר"י זלה"ה ואז האירה הארה מבחי' ההארה הראשונה שהאירה בזמן הרשב"י ע"ה ואז ניתן לו לפרש דוקא ענין הזוהר של רשב"י ע"ה והוא שלימות הארה הא'. והנה יראה כ"ת שלא דמתה ההכנה שהוצרכה לרשב"י להכנת האר"י כי לזה הוצרך מערה וע"י בריחה ובזקנותו ולזה הוצרך פרישות ומבחירתו בילדותו וכמה אחרים שעשו פרישות וסיגופים וחסידות יותר שנים ממה שעשה האר"י זלה"ה ואעפ"כ לא היו כמוהו ולא קרוב אליו. אך האמת כי כמו שיש הרבה קצים לגאולה כי בהרבה מדריגות יכולים ליגאל כמ"ש האר"י בעצמו בענין וירא ה' כי סר לראות ולפי המדרגה הגואלת כך הם סדרי הגאולה כך הוא בכל הארה שלפי המדריגה המאירה כך היא ההכנה הצריכה לה, והנה מזמן האר"י והלאה עמדו גדולים בישראל וכלם מבחי' ההארה ההיא שנסתלקה באותו הזמן והלכו הדברים מדור לדור. והנה עתה אגיד להדרת כ"ת אמרים אמת כאשר הודיע ה' אלי על דברת כ"ת כי ראש שבטי ישראל הוא וכבר זיכהו ה' להיות שמו הטוב הולך עד אפסי ארץ אך תלמידים מובהקים לא זכנו שיעמדו לפניו ומאת ה' כל דבר אם קטון ואם גדול הוא אך אומרים מקצת שבחו של אדם בפניו ע"כ לא אומר אלא ראשי פרקים מה שאי אפשר זולתם להראות לכ"ת אמתו של דבר, כי עד כ"ת הגיעה ההארה מהארת האר"י זלה"ה ובהיות כ"ת משרש קין משרש יחזקאל הנביא, ובו נשלם תיקון ההארה הא' על כן הנה בעונותינו חטאינו הוא נשא ומכאובינו הוא סבלם וגם העברת הערלה נמסרה לו כי האי מאן דבמאדים ו' והוא משורש גבורה כאשר זכרתי אמנם בהיות כבר שלם התיקון הא' ע"כ לא היה צורך לתלמידים אחרים כי אין צורך לאותה ההארה להתפשט עוד, ועתה ברצות ה' להיטיב לעמו רצה לגלות עוד אורה חדשה מבחי' הזוהר ג"כ שהוא מהארת הטפה כ"ל[6] והוא בחסדו בחר בי. ומה אומר בזה אם על הכנתי ידרוש הן אמת שרק חסד ה' עשה זאת ולא כהכנתי, אך האמת הוא כי שנים שקדתי על ענין היחודים ליחד יחודים כמעט בכל רביע שעה יחוד א' כאשר אני מתמיד גם עתה ת"ל וגם ראיתי לעמוד בטהרה אך תעניות לא עשיתי הרבה כי אם זאת היתה לי התמדת היחודים, ושרש הכל הארת המדריגה אשר שלטה בזמן ההוא ולקח הב"ה[7] אותי לכלי

5 ששים רבוא.
6 כוכב לכת?
7 הקדוש ברוך הוא.

אשר חפץ. אך הצעת המעשה בקיצור ביום ר"ח סיון התפ"ז בהיותי מיחד יחוד א' נרדמתי ובהקיצי שמעתי קול אומר לגלאה נחיתנא רזין טמירין דמלכא קדישא ומעט עמדתי מרעיד ואחר נתחזקתי והקול לא פסק ואמר סוד מה שאמר, ביום הב' בשעה ההיא השתדלתי להיות לבדי בחדר וחזר הקול ואמר סוד אחר עד שאח"כ ביום אחד גלה לי שהוא מגיד שלוח מן השמים ומסר לי יחודים פרטים לכוין בכל יום ואז יבא. ואני לא רואה אותו אלא שומע קולו מדבר מתוך פי ואח"כ נתן לי רשות לשאל ג"כ ואח"כ כמשלש חדשים נתן לי תיקונים פרטים לעשות בכל יום כדי שאזכה לגילוי אליהו ז"ל ואז צוה לי לחבר ספר על קהלת שהוא היה מפרש לי הסוד של הפסוקים כ"א ואח"כ בא אליהו ואמר סודות מה שאמר והוא אמר שעתה יבא מט' שרא רבא ובבואו ידעתי שהוא הוא מפני דברי אליהו שאמר לי ומאז והלאה הכרתים כל א' בפני עצמו וגם יש נשמות מתגלות שאיני יודע שמם ובכתבי החידושים אשר אומרים אכתב היום האחד אתי וכל הדברים האלה בנפלי על פני אני עושה ורואה את הנשמות הקדושות כמתוך חלום ממש בצורת אדם ובאמת ובאמונה אני אומר שעדיין לא הגעתי למחצית השגת האר"י זלה"ה רק שהוא לא הורשה לכתוב ואני צויתי לכתוב, ואני גלה לי ת"ל המגיד בפנימיות החכמה דברים נפלאים אשר לא נודעו מהרבה כי דברי האר"י סתומים מאד ובפרט ענין הקושיא איך קו האס[8] יעבור בתוך עשיה, וכללות ענין ג' דברים הם כללות החכמה פרשיות ההנהגה ירידת האור בהדרגה בכחו והרכבת המאורות כי כל הצורות מה שאנו מציירים לא מראות ערך הכמות אלא ערך האיכות והוא הנון מעניני הגשמיות כי כל החכמה היא רק סדרי ההנהגה לפי מזג החד"ר[9] וכבר כל הדברים האלה יראה כ"ת נכללים אשר שלחתי למ"ו כמוהר"ר חתנו נר"ו. כל אלה הדברים דחקתי וכתבתי להפיק רצון כ"ת ומאשר יהיה בסוף הדברים אין לי רשות לדבר כלל כי סתומים וחתומים. ומעתה אצא מלפני הדרת כ"ת משתחוה אפים ארצה ונושק כפות רגליו מרוב אהבה ונפש שוקקה וה' אלקים ימלא משאלותיו לאורך ימים לטובה אכי"ר.

ליל מ"ש ג' חנוכה הת"ץ פאדובה

עבד עולם
משה חיים לוצאטו

3. RABBIS ḤAGIZ AND KATZENELLENBOGEN AGAINST LUZZATTO

ב"ה

טופס מה שהסכים וכתב וחתם מורינו ורבינו הרב הגאון הגדול אב"ד ד"ג[10] בק"ק וחד דעמיה חכם חאגיז המפורסם בגדר וסייג לטובת כלל ישראל שלא יהיו נכשלים, הועתק מכתב העיקרי אות באות תיבה בתיבה.

באשר הקול נשמע במחנה העברים מנח בקרן זוית מי שמלאו לבו לכתוב ולחבר ספרים בלשון המדומה ללשון הזהר הקדוש, באמרו כי על פי מגיד ומנירים שהם המדברים אליו הוא מחברם ויש בדעתו לקרא להם שמות זוהר תניינא ושבעים תקונים על פסוק וכל היד החוקה, ופירוש על קהלת הכל על דרך נסתר, ובכן מעתה ומעכשיו אחר שראינו את ההזיקות והמכשולות הנולדים מספרים כאלו וכל כיוצא בהם, עלתה הסכמותינו לגזור אומר על כל בני עמינו, ובכח התורה המסורה ביד חכמי ישראל שבכל דור ודור אנו משתפין את השכינה השרוייה בגלותינו שהיא מסכים על ידינו, ובכח ב"ד של מעלה שמדרכם להסכים עם התחתונים אנו מחרימין ומנדין ומקללין ומארירין

8 האין סוף.
9 חסד דין רחמים.
10 דיין גולה.

לכל איש אשר יפרסם בעולם ספרים כאלו וכיוצא בהם, בין בכתב בין בדפוס בין ללמדם לתלמידים. וגזרים אנו בכל אלות התורה בבל יראה ובל ימצא בין כל עדת ישראל, שום מכתב ספר חדש שנתחדש ע"פ הנסתר במשך מאה שנים שעברו, אשר לא נדפס עדיין מעולם, ומכל שכן אם יהיה נדמה בלשון הזוהר הקדוש בין בכולו בין במקצתו לא בשם אדם חכם או נאון ולא בשם מגיד ולא בשם רעיא מהימנא ואליהו וכל כיוצא בהם בין בארץ בין בח"ל ולא ילמד שום אדם בחברה של ת"ח, ומכ"ש עם התלמידים שום דבר שנתחדש בחכמת הקבלה במשך שבעים שעברו, יען זאת מצאנו דכל המוסיף בדברים הנסתרים שהם עומדים ברומו של עולם אינו אלא גורע מכבוד השמים וכבוד התורה ולומדיה, ונותן יד לקלי דעת להבין דברים שלא כהווייתן ואין דבר טוב יוצא מכל התחדשות כזה, שיתפרסם בגולה בשום מקום ובשום זמן ובשום אדם יהיה מי שיהיה ובאיזה אופן שיהיה. כי ידענו ז"אין בדורות האחרונים האלו מי שידמה לרבי שמעון וחבריו ז"ל והאלקי מהרי"א[11] לוריא ותלמידיו ז"ל, ואין מי שיערוך לחכמי התלמוד הראשונים גם האחרונים דעליהם אין להוסיף ומהם אין לגרוע, וכל המשנה אפילו כקוצא של מחט מדבריהם הוא נקרא עובר על דברי חכמים וחייב מיתה, כי אין זה נקרא לבד חוטא לאלקים כדעת אחרים, רק ה"[12] כופר בעיקר ומין אפיקורוס הוא. ובכן והיה האיש אשר יעשה בזדון לבלתי שמוע אל גדר וסיג זה שאנו עושים ויביא בדפוס איזה ספר מהנזכרים או חדש הדומה להם מלבד שיהיה האיש ההוא ומריעיו[13] מובדלים ומפורשים מעדת ישראל לכל דבר שבקדושה בעה"ב ובעה"ז, ויחולו עליו ועל המדפיס שידפיסם ועל כל מי שיתן להם יד ורשות ליזה, כל האלות וקללות שבתורת כהנים ומשנה תורה, גם כל הספרים מהנזכרים שיהיו נדפסים ושאר כתיבותיו, מעתה נגמר דינם עליהם להיות נדונים בין עם ה' כדין ספרי אפיקורוסים באין אומר ואין דברים. ומ"לים אנו פני כל רבני גאוני ומנהיגי הקהלות קדושות שבגלות פולין ואשכנז יצ"ו, ובפרט רבני גאוני א"י תוב"ב, ורבני גאוני ומנהיגי הק"ק טורקייא ה"י, ורבני גאוני כל איטליא ה"י, שיחלוו עמנו לבא על החתום ולהסכים ולקיים ולחזק תקנה וסיג וגדר זה, כדי שתהיה המצוה נקראת על שמם ולהיות עיניהם פקוחות, על זה ועל כיוצא בזה כדי שלא תהיה המכשלה הואת בישראל ויתקיים הסיג הזה שאנו עושים לכבוד ה' ותורתו, בגדולים מחקרי לב המה גדולי ישראל המרובים ה"י, כי די לנו במה שעברו עלינו צרות רעות ורבות מפריצי עמנו יהרסם ה' ולא יבנם, וכמו שהציל אותנו עד עכשיו יציל אותנו לעתיד מארשת שפתי מרמה שלהם, אמנם לאו כל שעתא מתרחיש לנו ניסא ואין לנו לסמוך על הנס בדור היתום הזה, לכן יצאנו לישע עם ה' כדי שיהיה קול ושוברו עמו בגדר הזה, שיתקיים בכל תוקף עד חמשה ועשרים שנה בלי שום פתח היתר בעולם.

וכי היכי דלא תהוי הדא תקנתא כמילתא טמירתה כתבנוה בשוקא וחתמנוה בברא בהסכמת ופקודת ואסיפת כל זקני התורה הנמצאים אתנו יוסף ה' עליהם כהם אלף פעמים ויברך את כלל ישראל ולכל השומע לנו תבא עליו ברכת טוב, ומה' יבא הטוב נס"[14] בסדר והנה עיניכם רואות וגם שנת תכתב זאת לדור אחרון ועם נברא יהלל יה כי ה ש ק י ף ממרום קדשו וכו' פה ק"ק אלטונה יע"א.

יחוקאל בא"א מ"ו מהר"ר אברהם ז"ל מבית קצינא חוטב"ת (?) ק"ק אלטונה, האמבורג, וואנזבאק יע"א.

משה זעירא דירושלם חכם חאגיז נר"ו.

11 צ"ל: מהר"י.
12 הרי זה.
13 בכ"י: ומכריעיו.
14 נצח סלה ועד.

4. ḤAGIZ TO THE RABBIS OF VENETIA

טופס מהרב המובהק ודיין המצויין המפורסם כמוהר"ר משה חאגיז נר"ו איש ירושלים תוב"ב המגדיל תורה בק"ק אלטונה יע"ה כ"ה תמוז תצ"ה.

דברי שלום ואמת כדת נתונות וכו' ה"ה ראשי המדברים וכו' אהובי נאמני אלופי ומיודעי הרב הגדול מופלא ומופלג מוכתר בכ"ת[15] וגדולה וכתר ש"ט[16] היא העולה, הגאון נ"י ע"ה פה כמוהר"ר יצחק פאציפיקו נר"ו ואתו עמו ראשי אלפי ישראל שרי התורה לעבדה ולשמרה, מעלת רבני נאוני הישיבה המפוארה דק"ק ויניציאה הבירה שי"ן[17]. אחרי הקדה ודש"ת[18] זאת בקצרה להדריך לרום מעלתו טופס הכתב העיקר מהגאון הגדול החסיד האב"ד דעיר ואם בישראל ק"ק פראנקפורט דמיין והעיקרת נשארה בידי, וקיום על הטופס הנזכר מהגאון הגדול המפורסם האב"ד דק"ק אמבורג וק"ק אלטונה וק"ק וינצבאך, מאשר ומקיים את כל דברי הגאון דפרנקפורט דמיין בחרם חמור, כאשר עיני רום מעלתם תחזינה מישרים, שמסרו מעלת הגאונים הנזכרים הכח בידי לכתוב לרום מעלתם שהרשות נתונה בידם לכוף בכל אופן שיהיה טוב וישר בעיניהם לכל מי שיהיה בידו מספריו וכתביו והעתקות של מח"ל שימסרם ביד רום מעלתם כדי לבערם מן העולם, ולא דבר ריק הוא שהגאון דהא חתם וקיים בכתב ידו ממש את כל הדבר אשר דבר הכהן הגדול, ועוד חזון למועד א' לא' למצוא חשבון להשיב ולשלוח משאר גאוני ארץ על זה, ובעה"י אניח דבר רשום לדורות למען לא יזידון עוד, ומי שירצה להיות מזיד דמו בראשו וה' ידרוש מעמו, טופס הכתבים עם קיומם יכולים לפרסם ולשלוח לכל מקום שירצו, ומסבת חולשתי ואיברי כבדים עלי הי"ה יחזיקני לעבודתו אסיים, וכסא רום מעלתם דרך כלל ופרט ירום ונשא כו' עבד נאמן באהבת תורתם מוכן לשרתם הוא משה זעירא דירושלים תוב"ב חאגיז נר"ו.

(וזהו טופס הגאון דק"ק פרקפורט דמיין הנזכר למעלה) ח"י תמוז דהאי שתא תמי"ה לפ"ק הוא ובית דינו.

אל הר המור גבעת הלבונה וכו' כש"ת מוהר"ר משה חאגיז נר"ו וכו' הנה ליהוי ליה ידיע שהגיעו לידי שני כתובים הבאים כאחד. אגרת א' דברי קדשו דמעלתו נר"ו, ובתוכו רצוף אהבה נעימה כתובה הטופס מן האגרת של רבני חכמי ויניציאה, שניהם לדבר[19] נתכוונו שראוי ונכון לבער מן העולם כל הכתבים וחבורים של המוטעה מח"ל שעדיין ישנם בעולם שם במדינתו, מחששא דלא ליפוק חורבא מיניה ח"ו כאשר האריכו למעניתם בכתבם ובלשונם ויבקשו רצון ממני הקטן לחוות דעתי גם אני עמהם לגזור אומר על כל מי שיש בידו מהם יביאם וימסרם להוועד בישיבת החכמים ק"ק ויניציאה נר"ו.

באמת נאמר שוודאי ראוי ונכון לעשות כן לבער כל אותן הכתבים בשריפה כביעור חמץ בערב פסח, וכבר אמרנו וגזרנו בכרוז שעשינו פה שלחתי ההעתק ליד מעכ"ת בחרם הגדול על אותן ספרים של מח"ל, שהם ספרים בטעות ומזויפים, והן להזיק ולמכשול גדול בישראל שלא ידפיסום שום אדם בישראל או לסייע וכו' והעובר על זה ילכד במצודת החרם ויחולו עליו כל האורים והאלות והקללות שבתורת משה, כאשר יראו עיני מעכ"ת שגם דעתי מסכמת לאותה התקנה בחרם אשר סידר הגאון דק"ק המבורגא יע"א באופן שכתבתי לשעבר, למיגדר מילתא כי האי במקום שיש אפילו קצת חששא וחשדא בעלמא ומכ"ש בספרים של משה חיים לוצאטו הנ"ל להרחיקם ולבערם מן העולם בבל יראו ובל ימצאו עוד אצל שום אדם מאותן הכתבים וכמבואר בהעתק הכרוז שלנו, וחרמות אשר תוך תקנות מעלתכם, ומעתה פתשגן הכתב להנתן דת למעלתו הרמה הנאמרה לכתוב לחכמי ויניציאה שהם יגזרו אומר גם בשמי והסכמתי בכל חומר שכל מי

15 בכתר תורה.
16 שם טוב.
17 שלומם יהי נצח.
18 ודרישת שלומו תמיד.
19 חסר: אחד.

שיש בידו יהיה מי שיהיה מהספרים ומהמכתבים של מח"ל מחויב להביאם אל בית הוועד חכמי ויניציאה כדי לצאת ידי חובת ביעור, ולעשות חיזוק לדברים אלה להסיר המכשולות לתקן הגולה, לקרב קץ הגאולה, בעזרת שוכן מעלה אשר יסכים אתנו ויעמוד ליהודים רוח והצלה, להעמיד הדת על תילה, כתבתי וחתמתי זאת להאיר ולהעיר על יד מעלתו על פני תבל כולה, כ"ד אהובו לנצח יעקב הקטן כהן מפראג חונה פה ק"ק ורנקבורט יע"א.

טופס קיום והסכמת הגאון הגדול דק"ק המבורג א"[20] נר"ו הוא ובית דינו.

באשר לנגד עיני האירו והצהירו אותיות קדושים של הגאון תפארת ישראל עטרת ונזר הכהונה כנ"ל בכן אף שדעתי הנמוכה כבר יצאה, אעפ"כ מגיד משנה באתי לענות אמן רבתא בכל כחי אחו ברכת הכהן לכל אשר גזר ואמר כנ"ל גם אני גוזר ואומר ככל המבואר למעלה ובעונש נחש על מי שיעבור אפילו קוצו א', כה דברי יום ה' ד"ך תמוז תמים"ה לפ"ק לסדר זה הדבר פה אלטונה, הק' יחזקאל באמ"ו מוהר"ר אברהם זלה"ה מבית קצניאלופוגון[21] חונה ב"ג ק"ק אה"[22] וכו'.

טופס קיום התקנה מהגאון ובית דינו דק"ק ברלין, ועוד הבטיחו לכתוב ולשלוח עוד הסכמה אחרת יותר באריכות.

נקראתי מהמאור הגדול זקן ויושב בישיבה הרב המובהק המקובל האלקי אשר כבר יצא מוניטון שלו בכמה ספרי קדש שחבר נ"י פ"ה[23] כמוהר"ר משה חאניז נר"ו להיות נמנה עם ש"ב הגאון אב"ד גדול בדורו מרא דאתרא מוהר"ר יחזקאל נר"ו.ועם כבוד מוהר"ם ובית דינם, בדבר החרם אשר החרימו ונידו ואררו באסיפת זקני הקהלה בק"ק אלטונה יע"א על למודי קבלות המתחדשות במשך שבעים שנה וגם שלא יבואו לדפוס מהיום והלאה ספרים כאלה במשך כ"ה שנה מהיום בלי שום התרה ובפרט ספרים ודברים שיש לומר שבדו אותם מלבם בני אדם שעלו ברוחם על במתי עב לדמות עצמן להראשונים קדושי עליון, כקוף בפני אדם בשקר וכזב לעשות זוהר תניינא או תיקונים חדשים או פירושים בהקדמות שלא נזכרו בספרי המקובלים הראשונים, ושלא שמעתן אוזן מעולם, דברים כאלו לא יודפסו בדפוס לעולם וגם לא יזכרו ולא יפקדו הן בעל פה או להיות כמוסים באוצר שום אדם בעולם בכתיבת יד כאשר האריכו מזה בתקנתם, ואחר שכוונת אלו שני המאורות הוא לשם שמים לגדור גדר ולעמוד בפרץ שלא יתערב ח"ו שיחה בטלה בתורה שלימה שלנו המקובלת לנו מקדושי עליון, גם הנני מסכים עמהם בכל אשר החרימו ונידו וקללו ואררו, וכל המקיים דבריהם הטובים יבא עליו ברכת טוב, כתבתי יום ו' לסדר בסודם אל תבא נפשי וכו' נפשי בטוב תלין בתורת ה' ת מ י מ"ה לפ"ק י"ג טבת פה ברלין הקטן מרדכי מליסא.

טופס הגאון אב"ד דק"ק קראטשין והגליל יצ"ו, י"ב מנחם תצ"ה הוא וב"ד שנזרו על ענין הנזכר ומקיים כנ"ל.

עיני ראו ולא זר נתיב דברי חכמים נאוני ויניציאה בצירוף כבוד נאוני דורנו אשר כלם לדבר א' נתכוונו ויעטו כמעיל קנאות לקנא קנאת ה' צבאות בנדון שקם בק"ק פאדווה משה חיים לוצאטו שמו, וישבחו בעיר לאמר שלו נגלו תעלומות חכמה, הנסתרים, ואלופים נאונים הנ"ל מרבים לספר בגנותו של אותו איש ועל דבריהם יש לסמוך, ועל דבר זה

20 אורים ותומים?
21 קצנלנבוגן.
22 אלטונה המבורג ואנסבאק.
23 פאר הדור.

נזכר לגנאי שמקהיל קהלות ברבים ולמד להם דברים נסתרים שלפי דבריו נתחדשו אצלו או נגלו לו ואינו נזהר בדברי חז"ל כבושים לכבשם ואם דבר זה נאמר לדורות הראשונים שהיו כמלאכים וכו' כ"ש וק"ו בדורות אחרונים הללו שאנחנו יתמי דיתמי כו' ומה גם שמי גדולי ישראל חוקרי לב גאונים הראשונים היו בורחים מללמוד חכמת הקבלה אף דברי קבלה שהיו נחקקים על קו האמת והיושר כמבואר בתשובותיהם מכ"ש מי יעלה על לבו בעתים הללו לעשות כן, בודאי מי שחננו ה' דעה קצת יוכל להעלות על דעתו שמהראוי לרחק את עצמו מדבר זה כי במעט שיטה עצמו מדרך אמת יוכל לקצץ בנטיעות ולעקר שרשים שרש אמונה אשר אנחנו מושרשים בה מימות אבותינו מאמינים בני מאמינים, על זה בודאי מי שיראת ה' נוגע בלבו ראוי לאזור כנבור חלציו, והחלש יאמר גבור אני, ואל יאמר כל א' וא' [לא] עלי הדבר מוטל רק לגדולים ממני כי במקום שיש חילול ה' אין חולקין כבוד לרב ואין מקיפין בחילול ה' לעשות כחנוני המקיף רק מהראוי להיות כוריז ונשכר ויחזיקו עשרה אנשים בכנף א' לאמור איש את אחיו יעזורו לעזרת ה' בנבורים וללחום מלחמת ה' כי יש לחוש פן ירבה המספחת, ודבר המוסנר יהיה ח"ו למוחלט, בכן גם אני סניף לגדולים אשר קדמוני בענין זה ולגזור בח"ח שאל יעלה על לב שום אדם ללמוד חכמת הקבלה של האיש הנ"ל, ומכ"ש חלילה להיות לסעד ולמסייע להדפיס ספריו ומכתביו, והעובר על דברים אלה יחולו עליו כל הקללות וארורים שבתורה וכל החרמות שניתנו מימות מרע"ה עד היום הזה, ופרץ וצוחה אל ימוש מרחובותיהם, השקט ושאנן אל יהא במחנותיהם, ואף כמות כל אדם אל יהא מיתתיהם, רקב יעלה בעצמותיהם, וכלבים ילקקו דמיהם, ובכף הקלע יקולע נשמותיהם, עד ישובו מכסלה ויסורו מדרכיהם ללכת בעקבות הראשונים ובדרכיהם, וה' יהיה לנו לעזרה, ויוציאנו מאפלה לאורה, ונטה שכם א' לעברו במורא, מתוך אהבה יתירה, כ"ד יום א' י"ב מנחם תצ"ה בקק"ק חונה פה ק"ק קראטשין והגליל יצ"ו.

טופס הרב הגדול דק"ק פינשוב והגליל יצ"ו ט"ז תמוז תצ"ה אשר בברעסלא: גדול מרבן שמו כו' מקנא קנאת ה' צבאות וקנאת עמו כו' ה"ה כמוהר"ר משה חאניז נר"ו וכו'.

גי"ה[24] מן ח' לספיר' הגיעו לידי כו' ועל זה יהיה לבו הטהור נכון בטוח שאני עושה את חיובי ומקבץ חתימות והסכמות מרבני פולין הבאים לכאן וגם אני כותב להם לכבוד הגאונים הרבנים הגדולים, והנני מודיע למעלת כת"ר[25] שאני מעורר את לב כבוד הרבנים יצ"ו שכאשר יבא כתוב מרום אדוני כת"ר למר שרבו של זה מח"ל הרשע תר"ו[26] אינו משגיח בהסכמות וחתימות המזכרות אזי ידע נאמנה שיתקנו כרוז מפורסם בחרמות נוראות גדולים ועצומים להכריז בכל בתי כנסיות שבכל קהלות הגלות (?) ישראל שבמלכות פולין בכל ערב ר"ח לקלל ולארר ולנדות ולהחרים לכל מי שיש בידו מכתבים הנ"ל והעתקותיהם ואינו נותנם כדי לקיים מצות בעור שאין מצותו אלא שריפה כאשר יהיו עיני מעלתם בהעתק ההסכמה ממכתב יד הגאון אוהבי נאמני אב"ד דק"ק לבוב וק"ק גלונא וה' יעורר לבבות הרבנים הגדולים חקרי לב אשר ספוק בידם לגדור פרצת הדור ולעמוד על נפשם ולהציל נפשות עניי בני עמו הנאנחים והנאנקים סכלים פתאים ורכי לב והמאמינים לכל דבר. קנצי למלין אני זריז בדבר זה כפי מעט כחי ויכלתי החלושה ובה' בטחתי שיגלגל זכות ע"י זכאי גדול קדוש ישראל רום מעכ"ת מלומד מלחמת ה' מנעוריו וגם אני סניף לדבר מצוה רבה זו, ויסויים ע"י קטן ופחות כמוני, גם שלחתי כל ההעתקות והכתבים להגאון אב"ד דק"ק קראקה נר"ו ואם יתמהמה כי אין דברי (?) הבי דואר שכיח כ"כ עכ"פ אחכה כי לא אשקוט עד אשר עשיתי כל מה שביכלתי וה' יגמור בעדי ומרוב הטרדות המוטלות עלי קצרתי ושלום מאדון השלום כנפש אחד מעבדיו

24 נלילות ידו הטהורה.
25 כבוד תורתו?
26 תיפח רוחו ונשמתו.

הקטנים מוכן לשרתו כרצונו בכל זמן ועידן, הקטן יעקב בן הקטן מ' צבי הירש ז"ל הי"ד[27] מפינטשוב עבד על התורה ועבודה עם ה' פה עיר ברעסלא.

טופס הסכמות וגזירות וקיום של הגאון ומפורסם אב"ד דק"ק לבוב והמדינה ק"ק גלונא והגליל יצ"ו.

כן באו אלי כתבים מכתבים שונים ומשונים ומקוצים ומוקצים מן הדעת דעת תורה ודעת נוטה למינות ואפיקורוסות שנזרק בזה האיש רע ובליעל מח"ל אוי לעינים שכך רואות ואזנים שכך שומעות שכך עלתה בימינו לא די לנו בצרות הראשונים צרה אל צרה נגשת מאשר משרש נחש יצא צפע חיו"א בישא עוד הוסיפו סרה שקם למטה רשע זה הפוקר לחרף מערכות אלקים חיים ושפתיו אזו לאמור מי אדון לנו, חובר חבור במחברת הטומאה לטמא הנפש והגוף ומטיל איבה בין ישראל לאביהם שבשמים, וכבר נתפרסם שקריו ועדות שנשבע לשקר בבי דינא רבא דמעלת חכמי גאוני ויניציאה יר"ה כאשר חכמתן תחזינה במכתב מפורש של מעלת הישיבה הנ"ל, בקיום החכם המפורסם בדורו לשבח שר צבא במלחמות ה' חובה ומצוה בנן של קדושים וכליל לאישים מוהר"ר משה חאגי"ז נר"ו ובעת פשתה המספחת אשר נסע לק"ק אמשטרדם לחקוק בעט ברזל ועופרת, בתחתיו תעמוד הבהרת, וכבר שקדו חכמים בתקנתם ה"ה כבוד החכמים הגאונים המפורסמים פאירי הדור אב"ד דק"ק פרנקפורט דמיין נר"ו והגליל ואב"ד דק"ק אמבורגו ואלטונה ואגפיה נר"ו ואב"ד דק"ק פירדא והמדינה נר"ו לעשות משמרת להחזיק התקנות שתקנו הגאונים המפורסמים אב"ד דק"ק דראגא נר"ו וק"ק ניקלשפורגו זלה"ה ושאר גאוני ארץ במדינת אשכנז אשר חקנו זה כמה שנים להיות לעד בבני ישראל לכבוד ולתפארת. וכעת מצאתי עצמי מחויב בדבר להודיע צערן של ישראל לרבנן גאוני חכמי ישראל למדינת פולין גדול ופולין קטן שיאזרו כגבור חלציהם לצאת לעזרת ה' בגבורים וילבשו רוח קנאה קנאת ה' צבאות תעשה זאת לחלש יאמר גבור אני להעביר רוח הטומאה הזאת מן הארץ ובחרבם השלופה חרב פיפיות בידם הגדולה להודיע הדבר לכל אחינו בני ישראל בכל מקומות מושבותיהם להקהל ולעמוד על נפשם להקהיל קהלות ברבים ובכלן תושיה הגל יתגל קלונו של הרע ובליעל של מח"ל הנ"ל, ולהיות הדת נתונה בכל מדינות פולוניא בכל ער"ח[28] להחרים ולנדות ולהפריש ולהבדיל זה הפוקר ותלמידיו ואחוזת מרעיו וסיעתו מכל קדושת ישראל, וכל ספריו וכתביו יהיו נדונים כספרי מינים וקוסמים בשריפה כדין ספר מינים דשורפים אותן ואת אזכרותיהן ק"ו לנד"ד[29] שכל תכלית למודו מפי אחרים ממש מקליפה החיצונה כמבואר בהב"ד[30] המונח פה, וככה יעשו בני ישראל מדי חדש בחדשו עד כי ישוב ה' מחרון אפו וינחם ה' על הרעה ויסיר המכשול עון מעלינו ויומו יבא וימיתנו במיתה חמורה למען דעת כל עמי הארץ כי ה' אלקינו אמת ותורתו אמת והוא קיים ותורתו קיימת לעולם ועד ולא יתבטל אף אות א' ואלה הם הרשעים החטאים בנפשותם ירדו שאול ואבדון ולא יהיה להם תקומה ולא יבואו פנימה, ולא זו אף זו מצוה וחובה עלינו להזהיר את אחינו החכמים השלימים הגאונים הרבנים אשר בקהל עם קדוש ספרדיים ואשכנזיים וכמו כן הנגידים והקצינים שבכל עיר ועיר מדינה ומדינה שיש בה דפוס שיעמדו בפרץ בל יקרב זר הזה אל המלאכה מלאכת מחשבת הדפוס לדפוס שום דבר גדול או קטן אף בגלה כי אסור ללמוד בספריו וק"ו בן בנו של ק"ו לדחותו בשתי ידים ולא יתנו לו חנייה בתוכם וטמא טמא יקרא ומושבו טמא ובטוחים אנחנו באנשי ברי לבב כמותם יתנו תודה לדברינו הנאמרים באמת לכבוד ה' ותורתו הקדושה ובאלו אמרו מקדימים ולא מאחרים שלא לעבור בבל תאחר ח"ו כי אין מקיפים בחילול ה' ולהיות מן הזריזים המקדימים לדבר מצוה גדולה כזו להסיר המכשלה הזאת מעם ה'

27 ה' ינקום דמו.
28 ערב ראש חדש.
29 לנדון דידן.
30 בהודאת בעל דין.

המיחדים אחדותו אחדות שאין כמוהו, הכ"ר[31] לכבוד הב"ה והתורה ולומדיה לכן חתמתי את שמי פה ברעסלא היום יום נ' תמוז תצ"ה לפ"ק, הקטן אריה ליב החונה ק"ק גלונא ומצ"ח[32] בק"ק לבוב והגליל יצ"ו חתן הגאון המפורסם החסיד מהר"ר צבי זלה"ה.

עוד מהגאון המפורסם דק"ק אמשטרדם שכתב בעברו דרך ברעסלא יום ד' ו' אלול תצ"ה לפ"ק.

אני לדודי וכו' הרב המאה"ג[33] וגו' כמוהר"ר משה חאגיז נר"ו להודיע לרום מעלתו בעברי פה דרך ברעסלא לתקוע יתד במקום נאמן ק"ק אמשטרדם עם בני ביתי וה' ברוב רחמיו ינחנו במעגלי צדק למען שמו אכי"ר הנה מצאתי פה חבילה א' מליאה כתבים וראיתי והנה אלקים עולים מהארץ גודרי גדר ועומדים בפרץ עזה שבמראות נגעים בני אדם המעשה הרע מהבליעל שקם בעיר פאדווה יע"ה וראיתי התקנות בח"י[34] הגאון הגדול נ"י פ"ה ע"ה מחו'[35] מוהר"ר יחזקאל נר"ו ומשה סמך ידו ה"ה רום מעכ"ת בחתימת ידו לשם שמים ותוקף קיום מרבני וגאוני ויניציאה נר"ו ויתר שאת ועוז מהכהן הגדול מאחיו אב"ד דק"ק פרנקפורט דמיין יישר כחם וחילם וה' יהיה בעזרם והנני עונה אמן בקול רם על כל הדברים הנאמרים תוך התקנה, ואם ירצה ה' כשאבא לטובה לק"ק אמשטרדם אפנה מכל עסקי ואכתוב לכבוד מחו' הגאון ולכבודו הרמה דמעכ"ת כדת מה לעשות וחפץ ה' בידינו יצלח וגו'. כה דברי הצעיר אליעזר מקראקא חונה פה ברעסלא.

וזה מה שכתב והזהיר ובקש הגאון הנזכר לכל רבני וגאוני פולניא.

בעברי פה ברעסלא מצאתי כתבים מכתבים שונים בענין רע ומר אשר אירע במדינת איטלייא ואחזני פלצות ותסמר שערות ראשי אוי מה אירע בימינו עדיין לא הוטהרנו מטומאת שבתי צבי ימח שמו וזה האיש רע ובליעל רוצה להוסיף טומאה ח"י[36] בקרב מחנה ישראל לכן שמעו הרים צאו שרים ראשיכם לבא לעזרת ה' בגבורים לעורר כל מאני קרב נגד הרשעים החטאים בנפשותם הנגררים אחר זה האיש ומכתביו ובהיותי על טרידנא מאד מחלשא דארחא אין בידי להאריך בקול סופר בגנוח גנח ויילולי יליל על המעשים רעים שאירע בימינו ולראות ולגדור הפרצה שלא התפשט ח"ו הטומאה בקרב ישראל ובאתי כעת בקצירת אומר לענות אמן בכל כחי ולהסכים עם הגאונים הגדולים אשר קדמוני בזה כמו שמבואר באריכות מע"ל[37] שלא יפול דבר ארצה מכל הדברים הנאמרים שם והיה בבואי אם ירצה ה' למכון שבתי לק"ק אמשטרדם יע"ה אז אכתוב בזה באורך ובקשתי מכל רבני וגאוני חכמי מדינת פולין שיתעוררו בזה וה' יהיה בעזרתנו לבער הקוצים מכרם בית ישראל ויקוים במהרה בימינו ואת רוח הטומאה אעביר מן הארץ וכו' כה דברי הכותב בדמע וברפיון ידים היום ו' לסדר למען ייטב לך והארכת ימים ת מ י מ"ה לפ"ק הצעיר אליעזר מקראקא.

עוד יש הסכמות גדולות וארוכות מהגאון המפורסם כמוהר"ר יעקב בן הגאון מוהר"ר צבי ז"ל החונה בק"ק אלטונה ומהגאון דק"ק קאליש ואב"ד דק"ק פוזנא ועוד הרבה גאונים אחרים מפולניא ומאשכנז ואי אפשר להטריח להעתיק את כלם.

31 הן כה דברי.
32 ומצודתו פרושה.
33 המאור הגדול.
34 בחתימת יד.
35 מחותני.
36 כנראה צ"ל: ח"ו.
37 מעבר לדף.

5. MORE RABBIS AGAINST LUZZATTO

ב"ה

טופס קיום התקנה הנ"ל וגזירת חכמי רבני א"י תוב"ב.

אנן שלוחי דרחמנא האי תקנא דתקנן רבנן דהכא חזינא, ואלמלא לא נכתבה ראויה היא להכתב להחתם ולהתקיים בכל תוקף כי צורך שעה וצורך דורות היא לגדור את הגדר הפרוץ שפרצוהו לסטים וכבשוהו רבים שאינם בני תורה והן מקטני אמנה ולפיכך ראו חכמים דראוי לנעול דלת לפני כל עוברי דרכים דרכים ישרים המה דרכי התורה ואינם שבים בתשובה שלמה, רק בוידוי ותשובה מרומה מן השפה ולחוץ, כדחזי ואתקיים בהאי תלמידא משה חיים לוצאטו מפאדווה טמא שפתים, דאפיק מלתא מבי מדרשא מדרס הוא לפרחים ההולכים בשרירות לבבם, ובדעתם ומחשבתם המזוהמת ומשובשת רוצים להאמין כי תהיה יד ה' על נביאי הבעל החוזים שוא ודבר כזב גנבו לבבות וגם כחשו בה' כנודע ומפורסם בכל התועבות שנתהוו משנת תכ"ו עד היום שאנו רואים שחזר ונתעורר השטן לרקד בין עיניו של חצוף זה מח"ל אשר דמה בדמיון נכזב ועלה ברעיון לבו לב חורש מחשבות עמל ואון להדמות לקדושים אשר באמן המה דנוח היה לו להיות גורף ביבים מלחבר חבורים כאלו אחר היותו יתוש ופרעוש נער בער איהו אחר ואחר איקרי, אחר ודאי מסטרא דאל אחר דאשתרש ולית ליה תיאובתא לעלמין ולא אפיש ולא עביד פירין ובנין כל כך בר נש דגרים לההוא ס"א דיפוש בעלמא אקרי רע ולא חמי אפי שכינתא לעלמין, וכאשר ראה ראינו דרצו חכמים לעשות חיזוק לדבריהם, ובקשו לצרף עמהם רבים בתורה מגדולי ישראל אשר כבר ספיר גזרתם מזה ימים חד מינן עד וראה וידע עדות נאמנה כי הגאון החסיד הגדול המפורסם בדורו האב"ד בישראל כמוהר"ר אליעזר מקראקא נר"ו בק"ק בראד הוא ובית דינו הצדק באסיפת זקנים על המעשה בשנת ת"ץ לפ"ק וגם עכשיו, גזרו[38] והחרימו את חמ"ל ואת ספריו וכל כתיבותיו לבל יפקדו ובל יזכרו בין עדת ישראל ויהיו נדונין כדין ספרי מינין והטילו ח"ח על כל הלומד ומחזיק בשום ספר או כתב שכתב אפיקורוס זה חמ"ל, והואיל וראינו דמחמת דכסיל זה שנה באולתו ועבר על שבועתו אשר נשבע בק"ק פאדווה ביום ב' שלשה לחדש מנחם ת"ץ לפ"ק עם היות שחזר והתודה בק"ק פ"פ דמיין בפני הב"ד הגדול מהגאון פאר הדור והדר הוא לכל חסידיו המפורסם מוהר"ר יעקב כ"ץ מפראג נר"ו ביום ג' טו"ב טבת תצ"ה לפ"ק שקדו חכמים על תקנת הדורות הבאים פן ואולי ספריו וכתביו יהיו נמצאים באחרית הימים ויהיו נכשלים בהם רבים ועשו חוק לדברים לגזור אומר בכל חומר לבל יזכרו ובל יפקדו כתיבותיו וספריו של החמ"ל הנ"ל בין עדת ישראל לא היום ולא לעולם, וכל מי שיש לו מהם שמחוייב לקיים בהם דין שריפה ולבערם מן העולם מבלי שום פתח היתר בעולם לעכבם בידו ובאשר ראינו תקנתם וגזרתם גזרה טוב לכל נפש והיא נצרכת וחובה על כל מי שבשם ישראל יכונה כיאודה ועוד לקרא לאפושי גברי קא אתינא בכח המסור לנו מחכמי רבני גאוני עה"ק צפת תוב"ב לקיים כל דבר ולגזור בכח התנא האלקי הרשב"י ז"ל ושאר תנאים הטמונים בגליל העליון הנ"ל גזרת חויא דרבנן דלית ליה אסותא לכל איש מישראל אשר יתן כתף סוררת, ויזלזל בחרם ותקנה הנזכרת, ולא ישמור לעשות ככל הכתוב בכתב התקנה שנדפסה ונתפרסמה משני המאורות הגדולים ונתקיימה מכמה גדולי ישראל ובפרט מרבני גאוני הישיבה הכללית דק"ק ויניציאה יע"א, ושומע לנו ישכון בטח, כה דברי שלוחי דרחמנא החותמים פה ק"ק אלטונא, בשליש ראשון לחודש תמוז דהאי שתא שנת תורת ה' תמימה לפ"ק אני הבא על החתום ובכח והרשאה והורמנא שבידינו מארץ הקדושה הנ"ל לקנאות קנאת ה' צבאות ואני בעניי בטרם שהלכתי לארץ הקדושה הנ"ל ידעתי מכל החרמות שעשה הגאון הנ"ל, הק' ישראל בכמהר"ר דוד זצ"ל מבראד משולח כעת מארץ הקדושה ק"ק צפת תוב"ב. גם אני הבא על החתום בכח המסור בידי מרבני גאוני עיר הקדש הנ"ל מקיים ומאשר את הכתוב לעיל נאם הצעיר משה שמואל.

[38] בכ"י: גולו.

בעה"י

טופס קיום התקנה מהגאון המפורסם אב"ד ור"מ דק"ק בראד נר"ו וכעת נתקבל בק"ק אמשטרדם.

בראותי שבעו"ה נגע חדש נתחדש בעולם באחת מערי איטליא שעדיין לא הטהרנו מזוהמא ראשונה כת המאמינים שב"[39] ועתה באו להוסיף, בקראי שתים וג' דלתות אחזני רעדה ותסמר שערות ראשי, ואברי כבדים עלי וכל השומע תצלנה שתי אזניו אוי לאזנים שכך שומעות ולעינים שכך רואות, כתב הכוזבות, מי הוא זה כלב מת שעלה על לבו לכתוב כדברים האלה בודאי לכל הירא וחרד לדבר ה' ראוי להתאסף הן במדינתינו והן במדינת אשכנז ומ"ש במדינות תוגרמא חכמי ספרדיים ולכתוב מרורים בכל ארורים וכו' הן על האומר והכותב שלא ימשכו רבים אחריהם ובאם שיהיה אסיפת וועד חכמים במדינתינו עלי ליסע למקום הועד אולי נוכל לעמוד במקום הפרצה וכעת די בזה.

היאומן כי יסופר בספר וסיפור ספירת דברים שיעלה במחשבה האנושית להדמות את נפשנו לדורות הראשונים שכבר העידו חז"ל אם הראשונים כמלאכים וכו' ומכש"כ התנא האלקי בוצינא קדישא רשב"י זלה"ה שחיבר האי חיבורא קדישא דתחותיה תטללן כל חיות ברא וצפרי שמיא ומי יוכל לפאר הוד תפארתו ומי הוא זה ואיזה הוא אשר מלאו לבו לעשות כן לחבר איזה חבור כדמותו וכצלמו בכתבו ובלשונו בודאי לא מן השם הוא זה אלא מצד ס"א, והנה כבר התעורר ע"ז כבוד הרב המא"ה[40] החכם השלם מוהר"ר משה חאגיז נר"ו מלא את ידו כמבואר בכתב שמפורסם מקיום שקיימו רוב בנין מגאוני ארץ הגאונים המפורסמים הנז' ופתשגן כתבא דנא שלח אלינו ובקראינו שנים ושלשה דלתות תסמר שערות ראשינו גם שלח לנו העתק מכתב גאוני הישיבה הכללית דק"ק ויניציאה יע"א שהמה קרובים אל החילול והתעוררו ע"ז. בכן גם אנחנו מחויבים לילך בעקבותיהם ולקנא קנאת ה' ותורתו הקדושה, ואנחנו נוזרים ואומרים שכל מי שיעבור ח"ו דברי האיגרות הנאמרים לעיל אפילו פרט א' ממנו אזי כבר דינו אמור הוא וכל סייעתא דיליה המה מובדלים מכל קדושת ישראל ויחולו עליהם כל האלות הכתובות בתורתו, ולשומעים יונעם ויבא עליהם ברכת טוב, ואגרת דנא בא אלינו בירח שבט לסדר הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך וכו' ובאנו על החתום: הכ"ד[41] האלופים הרבנים היושבים על מדין בצירוף כבוד הרב המפורסם אב"ד ור"מ דקהילתינו נר"ו החותם בשם כלנו פה ק"ק בראד הצעיר אליעזר מקראקא החותם פה ק"ק בראד.

6. FULL TEXT OF THE HEREM AGAINST LUZZATTO'S WRITINGS

ב"ה גדר גדול גדרו חכמים באוש"א לכבוד ה' ותורתו הקדושה.

קול הדור נשמע בארצנו קול גדול ולא יסף הולך וגדול עד כי נדל מאד וכקלא דלא פסיק כרוא קרא בחיל במחנה העברים ובפרט במדינות אשכנז אולנדא ופולין ודאנימארקא כי צץ המטה פרח הזדון במדינת איטאליה ובעונותינו זאת העיר שיאמרו כלילת יופי היא העיר הקרובה אל החלל והאמת כן הוא כי בעיר פאדובה יע"א קם והתעורר איש א' מקציהם שמו משה חיים לוצאטו גבה לבו עד ויאמר אעלה על במותי עב למעלה מעשרה לפני ולפנים ממחיצת הפרגוד כי שם ישבו כסאות אבות העולם ואדון הנביאים ושאר הקדושים אשר בארץ המה הלא הם יורוני יאמרוני ומפיהם יוציאו מלין לצד עילאה ימללו רזים וסודות עמוק עמוק מי ימצאם ועלתה בדעתו הנכזבה בנאה וגאון ודרך רע להיות חובר חברים ומחבר חיבורים לקרוא אותם בשם זוהר תנינא

39 שבתי צבי.

40 המאור הגדול.

41 הן כה דברי.

ואינו כ"א חשוכא קדמאה ושבעים תקונים על פסוק ולכל היד החזקה ואינם אלא קלקולים מקל שבקלים. גם חשב מחשבות זרות ומוזרות להרים ידו כהה לעקור עיקר גדול מעיקרי אמונתנו וחיבר ק"נ מזמורים כנגד מזמורי דהע"ה והם תילי תילים של חירופין וגידופים באמרו כי לעת הגאולה יתבטלו מזמורי נעים זמירות ישראל ויתחלפו במזמוריו וכהנה רבות עמו דברים שלא עלו על לב שום אדם מעולם המטמאים והמטפשים את האויר ומבלים את העולם בדברים אלה אשר כל שומעם תצילינה שתי אזניו למד לאחוות מרעים ימים ושנים למען ספות הרוה את הצמאה ומשרש נחש יצא שפע ופריו שרף מעופף לבלבל את הכל ולכלות את הכל ולהוביל את הכל מאינרא רמה לבירא עמיקתא באין פחד אלקים ואנשים לנגד עיניו לבזוי נפש ולמתעב גוי ישראל גוי א' בארץ, אוי לאזנים שכך שומעות ואוי לדור שכך עלה בימיו. אמנם עיני ה' המה משוטטים בכל הארץ ואין דבר נעלם ממנו ופני ה' בעושי רע וכל ישעו וכל חפצו שלא יצמיח שורש פורה ראש ולענה כזה בכרם בית ה' צבאות בית ישראל ובכל עת כרת הזלולים במזמרות ואת הנטישות הסיר התז הותיר לנו שריד השרידים אשר ה' קורא האיתנים מוסדי ארץ המה החכמים מחוכמים רבנים וגאונים די בכל אתר ואתר המה יצאו תמיד לקראת נשק נגד מורדי אור ועוברים על דת. וכעת הזה המאורות הגדולים הרבנים והגאונים שבמדינת אשכנז ופולין אולנדא ודאנימארקא רובם ככולם גזרו אומר והדת ניתנה מב"ד הצדק לכל עדת ישראל בכל מקומות מושבותיהם שלא יראה ולא ימצא ביניהם יאודי או יאודית אשר יזידו לתת יד לפושע הנזכר להדפיס שום א' מספריו או מכתביו ומאיזה מין שיהיה שיוכל הלב לחשוב והפה לדבר ושלא להחזיק ביד מרעים לומדי ספריו וכתביו מאיזה מין שיהיה וכל עת שלא יתרחקו מהם כמטחי קשת יהיו מובדלים מקהל עדת ישראל ומכל דבר שבקדושה כי לא להם ולנו לבנות בית ה' אלקינו. זאת ועוד אחרת שכל ספריו וכתביו שיריו ומזמוריו וסוף כל סוף כל חבוריו מאיזה מין שיהיה יחשבו כספרי מינין ואפיקורסים ששורפין אותם ואזכרותיהן כן כל דבריו אלה יהיו דינם לשרפה למאכולת אש למען לא יכשלו בהם לא היום ולא לעולם שום אדם מישראל ולא תהיינה דעותיו הנפסדות והנכזבות לפוקה ולמכשול עון בעדת ה' לא מהם ולא מהמונם ולא נוה בהם לא יזכרו ולא יפקדו ולא יעלו על לב לעולם.

והאיש אשר יעשה בזדון לבלתי שמוע יפול במכמורת בל יקום וברשתות החרמים הגדולים והנוראים אשר החרימו מגיני ארץ ומופתי הדור ה"ה מעלת הרבנים הגאונים המפורסמים המאורות הגדולים הגאון הגדול כמוהר"ר יעקב הכהן מפראג אב"ד דק"ק פראנקפורט דמיין הוא וב"ד הצדק נר"ו והגאון המפורסם כמהר"ר ברוך כהנא אב"ד ור"מ דק"ק פירדא ואגפיה נר"ו הוא וב"ד הצדק והגאון הגדול המפורסם החסיד כמוהר"ר יחזקאל אב"ד דג' קהלות אמבורגו הוא וב"ד הצדק נר"ו ואהו' עמו הרב המובהק מוהר"ר משה חאניז איש ירושלים תוב"ב נר"ו והגאון הגדול כמוהר"ר יעקב במוהר"ר צבי זלה"ה אשר בק"ק אלטונה והגאון הגדול כמוהר"ר אריה ליב אב"ד דק"ק גלוגא ודק"ק לבוב נר"ו והגאון הגדול המפורסם כמוהר"ר אליעזר מקראקא אב"ד דק"ק בראד ואב"ד דק"ק אמשטרדם הוא ובתי דיניו נר"ו והגאון הגדול מוהר"ר יעקב יושע אב"ד דק"ק מיץ די לורינא אב"ד דק"ק לבוב הוא וב"ד נר"ו והגאון הגדול כמוהר"ר דוד שמואל אב"ד דק"ק קראקא הבירה והגליל יצ"ו הוא וב"ד נר"ו והגאון אב"ד דק"ק ברלין והגליל כמוהר"ר דוד מליסא נר"ו ואחיו הדומה לו הגאון כמוהר"ר אייזק אב"ד דק"ק טארני נר"ו והגאון כמוהר"ר יצחק זעוין נר"ו אב"ד דק"ק קאליש אב"ד וראש ב"ד דק"ק פוזנא נר"ו והגאון אב"ד דק"ק קראטשין הוא וב"ד נר"ו והרב המופלא מעיר ברעסלא כמוהר"ר יעקב בכמוהר"ר צבי ז"ל מפינטשוב נר"ו והאחרונים חביבין למקום ולבריות מע' הגאונים המפורסמים המובהקים הני תרי אשלי דרבי צנתרי הזהב כמוהר"ר ישראל בכמר דוד ז"ל וכמוהר"ר משה שמואל נר"ו והן הנה שלוחי דרחמנא דק"ק צפת תוב"ב שהסכימו וגזרו אומר בשם עצמם ובשם כולהו רבני גאוני ישיבות עיר הקדש הנז' ובהורמנותא דידהו בשליחותייהו קא עבדי ואנחנו רבני ויניציאה אשר נעשינו סניפים לדבר מצוה רבה כזו הכל הכל באשר לכל כנראה ברור בכתיבות יד וגם בדפוס אשר בידנו ולמען חייבים

אנחנו להרים מכשול מדרך עמינו ולרחק אחינו בני ישראל מנזק וחצי נזק צרורות רעות רבות וצרות המתהוות מחמת העברת חרם ומעשה עכן יוכיח הנה אנחנו באים להודיע כל הנ"ל לבלתי עבור על[42] ואם לא יניד ונשא עונו ועוד בכח התורה הקדושה שניתנה לנו מהר סיני ובהורמנותא דכולהו רבנן קשישאי וגאוני עולם הנ"ל במודעא רבה דאורייתא אנחנו מזרזים ומזהירים אזהרה שיש בה מיתת ב"ד לכל בר ישראל יאודי או יאודית אשר המצא ימצא בידו שום א' מספריו, מכתביו שיריו מזמוריו כנוותיו וסוף סוף שום דבר מחיבוריו א' מהם לא יעדר בתוך ט"ו יום אחרי אשר שמע הסכמתינו זאת אם אפשר לו בלי ערמה ומרמה יביאם אל א' מרבני ישיבתנו יע"א ואם אי אפשר לו מפני ריחוק המקום יביאום אל ב"ד הצדק שבעירם לעשות בהם כדין וכדת תה"ק כאשר נעשה אנחנו ממכתבים הנז' אשר יבאו לידנו ובכלל האזהרה מי שיודע היכן נמצאים מהמכתבים הנז"ל וביד מי נמצאים ובפרט מי שיודע היכן נמצאים וביד מי נמצאים אותם המכתבים אשר בחדש מנחם שנת הת"ף ניתנו בתורת פקדון ביד כ"מ משה בכ"מ שמעון אלפרון מפאדובה בתוך תיבה סוגרת ומסוגרת ובפרט מן הפרט לכ"מ משה אלפרון הנז' בעצמו יבואו ויעידו אל א' מרבני ישיבתנו היכן הם בלי ערמה ומרמה על דעת המקום ב"ה ועל דעת הנשבעים באמת וע"ד רבים מבלי הוראת שום צד היתר לעצמם ולא עפ"י איזה מורה שיהיה בעולם, והאיש או אנשים אשר יעשה או יעשו בזדון לבלתי שמוע אל כל הדברים הנז', והנזהרים בכל חלקיו וצדדיו פה אנו בכח התורה כנ"ל ובהורמנותייהו דרבני וגאוני הנ"ל מנדין משמתין ומחרימין בכל הנידויים והשמתות והחרמים אשר נעשו והוטלו מימות מרע"ה עד היום הזה וגם אנחנו בכח הנ"ל מאררים ומקללין אותו ואותם בכל אלות הברית הכתובות בס' הב' ומשנה תורה ויהיה או יהיו מובדלים מקהל עדת ישראל ומכל דבר שבקדושה בעוה"ז ובעוה"ב. אל יהי לו או להם מושך חסד יהי אחריתו או אחריתם להכרית לכל הדורות ימח שמם ילבש או ילבשו קללה כמדם ותבא כמים בקרבו או בקרבם וכשמן בעצמותם ובר מן דין עוד יחולו עליו או עליהם כל דברי החרם הגדול התרת דם הכל בו א' מהם לא יעדר. והשומע לו בכל מכל כל ישכון בטח ושאנן יפרח כזית רענן ובצל שדי יתלונן אכי"ר.

נעשה היום ליל ו' ה' לחדש חשון לסדר ולפרט ולא יהיה עוד מבול לשחת הארץ לפ"ק פה ויניציאה יע"א ופירסמוהו ברחובות חצר ישן וחצר חדש וגם הכריזוהו בכל בתי כנסיות ביום ש"ק לסדר הנז"ל.

7. THE RABBIS OF VENICE TO ALL THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF ITALY

אגרת כללית לשלוח את נוסח החרם לראשי קהלות איטליא יע"א.

אלי תרשישים רועי צאן קדשים, הנגשים אל ה' לשרתו בשבתות וחדשים, רוממי שדי תמיד לוחשים ורוחשים, גבורים לעמוד בפרץ נגד שועלים קטנים אשר ריח תורה מבאישים, מחבלים כרמים כרם ה' צבאות וכל פרים באושים, המה יצאו לקראת נשק לכרות הזלזלים ולשורפם כליל לאשים, הן המה הראשים מעלת האלופים פרנסי ממוני ומנהיגי עדת ה' בקהלות וסוד קדושים ועטרותיהם בראשיהם חכמי חרשי ונבוני לחשים, המה החכמים מחוכמים הרבנים המובהקים הדיינים המצויינים בהלכה חכמתם ושמם מפורשים, ה' עליהם יחיו יגדיל תורתם ויאדיר בכל מדרשים, יהיו כטל לישראל יפרחו כשושנה בכל פנה שמחים וששים אכי"ר.

ראשית כל בכורי קול תפלה קול תחנה לאל שוכן מעונה יקומם ירומם הדרת כסא כבודם על אנשי הדת מי מנה וכל הברכות ינתנו אליהם למנה ואחריו קול אדם ימשוך

[42] חסר כאן.

בקסת הסופר לתומו להשמיע אחריו קול רעש גדול אילי הכבוד הרעימו המה ישאו קולם קול ענות גבורה מי לה' אלינו ממנו יראו וכן יעשו. הלא המה מופתי הדור ומגיני ארץ אשכנז ופולין ודאנימארקא ושלוחי עה"ק צפת תובב"א אשר בכח גדול וביד חזקה מצוים ומחייבים בכח חרמים גדולים ונוראים שכל הכתבים והחיבורים אשר נחברו ונעשו עד היום מאת משה חיים לוצ'אטו מעיר פאד"ובה המתנורר כעת בעיר אמשטרדם ינתנו לשריפה ולמאכולת אש וכל מי שנמצא כמוס עמו חתום באוצרותיו שום א' ממכתביו הרת ניתנה ממעלתם יגיעו אותם לידינו לעשות מהם כדת. וכאשר עיני מעכ"ת תחזינה מישרים מנוסח החרם אשר הכרזנו פה בעיר הזאת והוא כמוס בנייר הדבוק ועל כי זאת העצה היעוצה מהם שבכל הקהלות גלילות איטל"יא יתפרסם ע"י כרוזא קרי בחיל כל דברי ההסכמה הזאת וכל ישראל ישמעו ויראו ולא יזידון להסתיר המכתבים תחת צל קורתם להלכד ברשת החרם ח"ו ולבלתי היות המכתבים האלה לפוקה ולמכשול עון בעדת ישראל הנה אנחנו באים המצווים ועושים צביונם של הגאונים הנ"ל ומגיעים לידם הטהורות נוסח החרם הנזכר כי היכי דלמטי להו שיבא מכשורא והכשרא הדין ומנייהו ומינן תסתיים שמעתתא דא ויתקלס עילאה. ואנחנו בצפייתנו צפינו ונצפה לתשובתם הרמתה להשיב שולחנו דבר ממה שעבר, ובעוד אנחנו מדברים בתפלה לנורא עלילה יעלה מדרגתם למעלה למעלה אוניהם תשמענה קול מבשר הגאולה ברינה וגילה ועין בעין יראו בשוב ה' ציון עיר המהוללה כרצונם וכרצון החותמים בשמם ובשם כל שאר בעלי הישיבה הכללית יר"ה פה וי"ניציאה יע"א בס' אשר יאמר היום בהוא ה' יראה שנת מלכותך מלכות כל עולמים לפ"ק.

יוסף בכמוהר"ר שמואל אבוהב זלה"ה — יצחק בכ"ר אשר פאציפיקו זלה"ה
שלמה בכ"ר משה הלוי מינץ זלה"ה — שלמה זלמן בכמוהר"ר מאיר זלה"ה מלבוב
שלמה בכמוהר"ר דוד אלטאראס זלה"ה — נסים דוד בכמוהר"ר משה הכהן זלה"ה

8. R. JACOB COHEN OF FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN TO ḤAGIZ

ב"ה

אות לבני מרי וכרון לבני ישראל, למען ידעו דור אחרון מה שנגלה ונחתם מהגאון המפורסם ר"ג החסיד המפורסם רבינו יעקב כ"ץ אב"ד דק"ק פ"פ דמיין וב"ד י"ב, על הספרים והמכתבים שיצאו מתחת יד התועב חמ"ל מפאדוה ובכן אין אחר גמר דין מחלוקת ושלום על ישראל ועל רבנן וכו'.

וה טופס הכתב אשר כתב להחכם המפורסם מהר"ם חאגיז ביום א' ר"ח אדר שני תצ"ז לפ"ק: אל נבעת הלבונה וראשי בשמים, על התורה ועל העבודה משים לילות כימים, פיו מפיק מרגליות בשפה ברורה ובנעימים, עומדת לעד צדקתו צדיק הולך תמים, ה"ה אהו' ידידי הרב המאה"ג חכם השלם קרנו למעלה ירומם, צדיק יסוד עולם מוסדי דור יקומם, כש"ת מוהר"ר משה נר"ו יאיר כאור שבעת הימים. יא"ק[43].

הנה אחר כדי דיבור שאלות שלום של שלומי אמוני. אודיענו אשר ני"ק[44] האירו אל עבר פני שני כתבים כא' ושניהם בלשון א' ובדיבור א' נאמרו ותמה א"ע עלי והקשה לשאול מ"מ לא קיימתי אמרי פי ודבר שפתים אך למחסור בעסק ביעור הספרים והכתבים של חמ"ל שלא בערתי ממנו בטמא ולא נתתי ממנו למת בקבורת קרקע, ע"כ תוכן תמיהתו, אבל לא כן אנכי עמדי וכי חשידנא בעינייכו להשהות את הטומאה כ"כ בביתי, בכן הנני מהודענא להו שכבר נעשה מעשה זה שני חדשים מקרוב דהיינו מועטן בשריפה ורובן

43 יברכהו אלהי קדם.
44 נשיקת ידי קדשו.

בקבורה במקום אשר לא ידע איש את קבורתם חוץ משני שלוחי מצוה יראי אלקים אנשי אמת אשר קברו אותן עמוק עמוק בקרקע קשה להוציא משם עוד, ואף גם שם גניזתן באופן שבזמן קרוב ירקיבו וישחיקו אותן קרקע עולם, וממני יראו וכן יעשו מי שיש בידו שום דבר מאותן כתבי הנ"ל שאל ישהה הטומאה בידו וימסרנו לב"ד והמה יבערו אותן כנ"ל. ואשר השבתי ידי אחור וקדם לא קדמתי להודיע למעלתו כל זאת, המניע' באשר תלמידי הר"ר אברהם מק"ק ויניציאה שוחר פני יבקש רצון ממני בשביל רבו הרב מהרי"ב עשה וקיים אשר נגזר עליו ושלח כל הכתבים של חמ"ל לידי על הוצאתו, לשלוח לו בכתב יד כל זאת לפרסם ברבים כדי להוציאו מן החשד שנחשד חנם על לא חמס בכפו וכדומה דברים כאלה ולא השבתי ע"ז כלום כי אמרתי שב ואל תעשה עדיף. נגד זה גמרתי בדעתי אחר שכבר הטומאה עוברת היא מן העולם אשר לית דין חשש לתקלה מהן, ראוי להיות נשתקע הדבר ולא יאמרו ולא יזכרו ולא יפקדו עוד הן בכתב והן בע"פ שלא יתגרו עוד ת"ח זה בזה. אך באשר ראיתי מתוך ד"ק[45] דמעלתכם אשר תלונות רבני ישיבות ויניציאה ותלונות מעלתו עלי ותלה הסירחון בי כאילו אחור נסוגותי, ע"כ מוכרח אני להסיר תלונותם מעלי ולהודיע למעלתכם אשר כל הספרים והמכתבים של חמ"ל אשר נשלחו לידי מידי הרב מהרי"ב בערתי מן העולם וגזרתי על כל מי שיש בידו עוד מכתבים הנ"ל שמחוייב למסור אותם לידי הב"ד והמה יבערום כקוצים כסוחים כמשפט הראוי להם ובזה תנוח דעתם הרמה. וה' שוכן מעלה, יסיר התקלה, והמכשלה, מעמו עם הגולה, עד כי יבא שילה, דברי אוה' נאמנו לעולם סלה, יעקב הק' כהן מפראג חו' פה ק"ק ורנקפורט יע"א.

נדפס ביום הששי לסדר ויאמר משה זה הדבר אשר צוה ה' תעשו וירא אליכם כבוד ה', שנת ו ל א י ת ן המשחית לבוא אל בתיכם לנגעם לפ"ק.
פה ק"ק אלטונא.

[45] דברי קדש.

INDEX

INDEX

Abraham b. Jacob, 31, 166.
Abraham of Venice, 182.
Abrahams, Israel, 155, 156.
Acco, 71, 149.
Acosta, 8.
Adler, Cyrus, V.
Ahad-Haam, 22.
Akiba, Rabbi, 38, 40, 72, 150.
Almanzi, Joseph, 24, 27, 45, 63, 132, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 156, 157.
Alprun, Moses, 53, 55, 180.
Alshaik, Hayyim, 59.
Amsterdam, 56, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 89, 90, 112, 136, 145, 158, 176, 178.
Arieh, Leib of Lvov, 176.
Ashmedai, 48.

Bahur, Elijah, 147, 152.
Bahya, 89.
Bar-Tuviah, 158, 160.
Bassan, Isaiah, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, 38, 39, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68, 69, 151, 168, 182.
Bassan, Israel Benjamin, 157.
Beer, P., 161.
Beilinson, M. A., 134.
Belilios, Jacob, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 64.
Ben-Jacob, 153.
Ben-Yehudah, 123.
Ben-Zvi, 149.
Berger, 134.
Berliner, A., 114, 147, 150, 152, 155.
Bernfeld, S., 148, 161.
Bernstein, S., 138, 159.
Besht, 8.
Bezalel, Benjamin ha-Cohen, 128.
Bialik, Ch. N., 108, 121, 122, 160.
Blau, 159.
Boccacio, 4.
Borgherini, Maria, 146.
Brann, 147, 152.
Brill, N., 93, 146.
Brody, H., 43.
Buffon, 112.
Burglie, Moses, 40.

Cabbalah, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 32, 40, 45, 49, 53, 54, 65, 77–89, 95.
Cagliostro, 98.
Calvo, Emanuel, 136, 141.
Camoëns, 145.
Cantarini, Isaac Hayyim, 3, 17, 18, 116, 137, 147, 152.
Casanova, 98.
Casis, Israel Gedaliah, 136.
Castel-Franco, Jacob Hayyim, 29, 166.
Cesano, Elijah, 136.
Chayes, L. P., 135, 138.
Chmielnicki, Bogdan, 7.
Chones, S. M., 148.
Cippico, Antonio, 99, 155.
Ciscato, Antonio, 147.
Coen, 158, 159.
Cohen, Elhanan Vita, 157.
Cohen, Israel, 22.
Cohen, Jacob, of Frankfort a. M., 64, 65, 66, 67, 163, 164, 172, 173, 179, 181.
Cohen, Mordecai, 144.
Cohen, Nehemiah, 55, 60.
Cohen, Zedek Joseph, 132, 147.
Colby, Elbridge, 159.
Commedia, dell' Arte, 100.
Consigli, Elijah, 121, 136.
Cordovero, Moses, 49.
Cracovie, Menahem, 116, 135.

David, Samuel of Krakau, 179.
Delitzsch, Franz, 23, 133, 137, 138, 146, 156, 157, 158, 159.

Demageot, J., 98.
Dembitzer, 154.
Denmark, 63, 179.
Derek Tebunot, 71.
Deutsch, Gotthard, 7, 146.
Dina, Solomon, 29, 166.
Drama, 4, 22, 23.
Dubno, Solomon, 133, 158.
Dubnow, S., 77, 146, 148, 156, 157, 158.
Dukes, L., 147, 156.

Echo-device, 106, 120, 159.
Edelmann, L. H., 135.
Efrati, 114.
Eisenstein, J. D., 147, 150.
Eliezer of Krakau, 176, 178.
Emanuel the Roman, 4.
Emden, Jacob, 45, 50, 139, 141, 146, 148, 153, 154, 155, 176, 179.
Ergas, Joseph, 49, 50.
Essenes, 29, 32.
Etheridge, 161.
Etienne, L., 99, 101, 155.
Eubenshütz, Jonathan, 8, 154, 161.
Evolution, 89.
Ezekiel, 38, 79.

Faligno, Cesare, 15, 16, 99, 146.
Fanshawe, Richard, 101, 155.
Ferrara, 22, 99, 100.
Fichmann, Jacob, 117.
Finn, S. J., 139, 151, 153, 154.
Finzi, David, 52.
Fishel, Rebecca, 113, 134, 158.
Fleischer, 96, 99, 157.
Formalism, 5.
Forte, Jacob Israel, 29.
France, 97.
Francis, Emanuel, 43.
Francis, Jacob, 43.
Franck, 78, 146.
Frankfort, a. M., 64, 66, 92, 181.
Frankl, L. Aug., 155.
Freimann, A., 95, 134, 143.
Freystadt, M. S., 80, 81, 128, 146, 156.
Friedberg, 135, 136, 137, 138.
Friedman, D. A., 150.
Frumkin, A. L., 150, 153, 155.
Fürst, 137.

Gabirol, 9, 18, 118, 119.
Gaon of Vilna, 91, 130.
Gaon, Moses David, 162.
Garibaldi, 22.
Gastfreund, Isaac, 161.
Geiger, 161.
Germany, 31, 50, 51, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 92.
Ghetto, 2, 3, 8, 15, 16, 108.
Ghirondi, M. S., 72, 129, 141, 142, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 156.
Ginzburg, Ch. D., 147.
Ginzburg, D. B., 132.
Ginzburg, Simon, 156, 157, 158, 159.
Giotto, 15.
Goethe, 15.
Goldstein, Herbert S., 113, 134, 158.
Gordon, Judah Leib, 121, 122.
Gordon, David, 161.
Gottlober, Abraham-Ber, 114.
Grätz, 148, 150, 152.
Grünwald, M., 138, 159.
Guarini, 17, 24, 96, 99–107, 111, 155.
Güdemann, 146.
Guttman, I., 149.

Ibn Ezra, Abraham, 18.
Ibn Ezra, Moses, 18.
Isaac, Hayyim b. Jacob Isaac, 31, 166.
Isaacs, 29, 79, 148, 158.
Isaiah, b. Abraham, 31, 166.
Isaiah, Deutero, 79.
Isaiah, b. Joseph, 31, 166.
Israel, b. David, 177.
Italia, Judith, 116.
Italy, 2, 31, 50, 61, 65, 99, 101.

Jacob of Pintchew, 175.
Jacob, Joshe of Metz de Lorraine, 179.
Jaffe, Mordecai Schloesinger, 40, 154–155.
Jarè, Giuseppe, 149.
Jedayah, ha-Penini, 17.
Jekutiel, Gordon, 9, 29, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 50, 58, 59, 60, 63, 144, 153, 154, 166, 167.
Jeremiah, 1.
Jerusalem, 43, 44, 138, 149.
Job, Book of, 111, 120.
Jost, 52, 148, 161, 163.
Judah of Opatow, 59.

Ḥagiz, Jacob, 43.
Ḥagiz, Moses, 18, 32, 34, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 59, 61, 62, 155, 163, 164, 170, 179.
Halberstamm, S. J., 136, 137, 159.
Halevi, Judah, 9, 10, 18, 23, 72, 96, 113, 118.
Hamiz, Abraham, 135.
Hannay, 155.
Haskalah, 5, 16, 25, 96, 114, 122.
Hassidism, 88, 91, 156.
Hayyun, Nehemiah, 8, 43, 49.
Hazak, Jacob, Israel, 166.
Hebron, 22.
Hefez, Menashe, 116, 120, 138.
Heilprun, Jacob, 137.
Herem, 8, 63, 163, 164, 178–180.
Herzl, Theodor, 38, 112.
Heshel, Rabbi of Vilna, 40, 151, 154.
Hibat Zion, 112.
Holland, 2, 63, 68.
Horace, 9.
Hugo, Victor, 43.

Kahan, Abraham, 19, 111, 148, 156, 157.
Kahan, B., 130.
Kahan, David, 148.
Karo, Joseph, 35.
Karpeles, 146, 159.
Katzenellenbogen, Ezekiel, 49, 51, 163, 164, 170, 173, 179.
Katzenellenbogen, Meyer, 14, 147.
Kaufmann, D., 40, 42, 115, 136, 151, 153, 154, 159.
Kaydonower, Aaron, 91.
Kefar, Joseph, 149.
Klausner, Joseph, 115, 161.
Kohelet, 41.
Kohen, Elijah, 91.
Kovner, Uri, 96.

Lachover, F., 157, 160.
Lampronti, Solomon, 136.
Landman, Isaac, 149, 157.
Landshuth, 161.
Layesharim Tehillah, 70, 89, 95, 109–115, 119, 120, 158, 160.
Lebensohn, Adam Hacohen, 110, 114, 115, 117, 121, 158.
Lebensohn, Micah Joseph, 108.
Lehren, Jacob Meyer, 143.
Leinzeig, Abraham, 128
Lengerke, Von, 133, 157.
Leon, Moses de, 42, 79.
Leshon Limmudim, IV, 17, 24, 93, 95, 132, 156.
Lessing, 2.
Letteris, Meyer, 110, 133, 148, 156.
Levi, Abraham Zvi, 140.
Libovitz, N. S., 152.
Linnaeus, Von, 112.
Lithuania, 9, 91.
Lunz, 149.
Luria, Isaac, 6, 26, 28, 37, 38, 40, 47, 48, 50, 78, 81, 127, 150, 151, 169, 170.
Luria, J., 128, 129.
Luria, Samuel, 129, 139.
Luther, 2.
Luzzatti, Luigi, 13.
Luzzatto, Aaron, 147.
Luzzatto, Diamante, 15.
Luzzatto, Ephraim, 14.
Luzzatto, Jacob Vita, 15.
Luzzatto, Jacob b. Isaac, 13, 14.
Luzzatto, Laura Hannah, 145.

Luzzatto, S. D., 13, 17, 116, 133. 147, 152, 159.
Luzzatto, Simone, 14.
Luzzatto, Simeon b. Jacob Vita, 31, 166.

Maaseh Shimshon, IV, 24, 156.
Maid of Orelans, 36.
Maimonides, 65, 78, 93, 161.
Malbim, 114.
Malter, Henry, IV, 150.
Mapu, Abraham, 112.
Marcus, Joseph, 160.
Margolit, I. L., 134, 143.
Marini, Isaac C. Aaron, 135.
Marini, Isaac C. Sabbatai, 29, 116, 134, 166.
Marini, Sabbatai, 140.
Martinet, A., 134, 158, 161.
Marx, Alexander, III, IV, 24, 95.
Mas, Goncet de, 146.
Measfim, 71, 113.
Melamed, David, 22.
Mendele, 122.
Mendelssohn, 8.
Mendes, David Franco, 71, 110, 114, 116, 128, 136, 143, 144, 161.
Merari, Moses Menahem, 53, 57.
Meseritch, Maggid of, 91.
Messianic idea, 5, 27, 28, 48, 71, 89.
Messilat Yesharim, 39, 70, 89–91, 136, 156.
Metastasio, 116.
Meṭaṭron, 41.
Migdal Oz, 17, 23, 24, 25, 63, 70, 71, 96, 102–109, 111, 119, 133, 157.
Milton, 28.
Mintz, Judah, 14.
Modena, Judah Leon de, 45, 56, 80, 129, 152, 159.
Montasinus, D., 131.
Mordecai, Ben-Zion, 31, 166.
Mordecai, of Lissa, 173.
Mordecai, b. Rephael, 31, 166.
Moses, b. Michal, 31, 166.
Moses, Samuel, 177.
Musen, 134.

Nahmanides, 6, 78, 79, 81, 127, 130.
Naphtali, Rabbi, 37, 150.
Neubauer, 142, 153.
Nichol, J., 112.

Olmo, Jacob Daniel, 22.

Pacifico, Isaac, 172.
Padova, Judah, Mazliah, 138.
Padua, 2, 3, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 28, 31, 37, 44, 52, 55, 60, 66, 68, 69, 112, 115, 138, 140, 146, 147.
Padua, University of, 9, 16, 42, 115, 135.
Padavani, Gabriel, 57.
Palestine, 6, 7, 22, 50, 53, 71, 72, 78, 96, 117, 121, 139, 160.
Papirna, Abraham Jacob, 157, 158.
Penso, Joseph, 96, 102, 155.
Petrarch, 4, 15.
Philo, 79.
Piperno, 138.
Pissarev, 96.
Plato, 80.
Polak, Ch., 158.
Poland, 9, 31, 50, 51, 59, 61, 63, 91, 92.
Pope, Alexander, 97.
Portugal, 16, 67.
Posna, Kalman, 131.
Prague, 67, 157.
Pseudo-Messiah, 6, 7, 8, 43, 46, 59.

Rabinovitz, Jacob, 160.
Rabinovitz, S. P., 148.
Racine, 116.
Ramsay, Allan, 97.
Rapaport, Baruch Cohen, 45, 54, 179.
Recanati, Menahem, 13.
Reggio, City of, 45, 47, 66, 138, 163.

Reggio, J. S., 161.
Rhine, 150.
Richardson, Samuel, 97.
Rivkind, Isaac, 149, 160, 162.
Rokeah, Solomon, 154.
Romanelli, Samuel, 104, 114.
Romanin, Isaiah, 137.
Rome, 50.
Rosanes, Hayyim, 55.
Rothstein, F., 148, 151.
Rousseau, Jean Jaques, 97.

Sabbatai, Levi, 7, 8, 21, 40, 42, 43, 47, 89, 129.
Safed, 13, 78.
Salanter, Israel, 130.
Seeligman, Sigmund, 71.
Sefer ha-Higayon, 17.
Shalom, Hacohen, 113, 114, 158.
Shalom, Aaron Raphael, 116, 121, 135, 138.
Shapiro, A. L., 130.
Shulhan Aruk, 4, 6, 7, 9, 35, 93.
Shulmann, Kalman, 108, 120.
Simchoni, 160.
Simeon, b. Johai, 28, 42, 47, 78, 169, 170.
Slousch, Nahum, 158, 160.
Solomon, b. Samuel, 31, 166.
Spain, 16.
Spanish-Arabic period, 4, 16, 17, 68, 96, 116, 118, 119, 120, 138.
Spiegel, Shalom, 160.
Spinoza, 8, 9, 21, 65, 79, 81.
Steinberg, Joshua, 157, 158, 161.
Steinschneider, 150.
Streit, Shalom, 160.

Talmud, 4, 10, 14, 18, 89, 92, 93, 121, 122, 131.
Tasso, Torquato, 99, 100, 101.
Taviov, I. H., 160.
Tchernichovski, Saul, 104, 162.
Tedeschi, Moise, 148.
Terni, Michael, 29, 166.
Tibbon, Ibn, 92.
Tiberias, 71, 72, 73, 117, 121.
Toprover, Jacob, 139.
Trevis, Israel Hezekiah, 29, 129, 166, 167.
Triasti, Moses, 144.
Tsinberg, S., 149.

Unger, Theophibe, 17, 152.

Vali, Moses David, 27, 129.
Venice, 13, 14, 16, 18, 55, 63, 137.
Venice, Rabbis of, 19, 44, 45, 49, 54, 55, 57, 63, 164, 172, 180.
Vernon, Mrs., 97, 99.
Vienna, 40.
Vilna, 9, 29, 37, 40, 42, 91, 116, 155.
Virgil, 9.
Vital, Hayyim, 20, 38, 78, 127, 150.
Vitali, Benjamin Cohen, 19, 21, 30, 34, 38, 39, 40, 47, 62, 116, 118, 138, 151, 163, 164, 168.
Voghera, Isaac Hayyim, 135.
Volkmann, 15, 146.
Voltaire, 50, 97.

Wagner, 161.
Waldstein, 146, 158.
Waxman, Meyer, 160.
Wessely, Naphtali Herz, 118, 119, 121, 161.
Wohlgemuth, J., 89, 90, 130, 156.
Wolf, Michel, 134, 135.

Zakuta, Moses, 19, 22, 23, 96, 102, 114, 150, 151.
Zalman, Solomon, 58–60.
Zedner, 152, 159.
Zend Avesta, 79.
Zevi, see Sabbatai,
Zevin, Isaac of Kalish, 179.
Zipporah, 52.
Zohar, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 41, 42, 59, 63, 78, 79, 128, 169.
Zohar Tinyana, 25, 40, 59.
Zoroaster, 79.
Zunz, 1, 146, 152, 159.